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Selections.

RIGHTS OF COLORED PERSONS.

LEGISLATURE OF MASSACHUSETTS,
IN SENATE, Feb. 22, 1842.

The Joint Special Committee to whom was committed the petition of Francis Jackson and others, and sundry other petitioners, for a law securing to colored persons equal rights in railroad accommodation:—also the remonstrance of Joseph Nunn, and sundry others, of Salem, respectfully submit the subjoined

REPORT:

The circumstances which give rise to these petitions, are matters of common notoriety throughout the State. While some of the railroad corporations (as for example, the Western, Nashua, Boston and Portland, Norwich, Lowell, and Worcester,) make no distinction among the passengers, but permit every well-behaved person to purchase such ticket, whether of the second or first class, as they choose, and then to select the car and seat which suit them; others,—which are the Eastern railroad, Taunton and New Bedford, and Providence,—while they in some cases demand of the colored man their highest price, place him either, as on the Salem road, in a decently-furnished car by himself, or as in other cases, in cars oftentimes neither decent nor comfortable, and according to circumstances, exposed to the inclemencies of the season. The petitioners ask for some action on the part of the legislature, by which the making of this distinction between colored and other citizens, shall be forbidden by law, and prevented by penalty. They base their request, not on the supposition that the colored man is not as well treated as his white fellow-citizen, but on the broad principle that the constitution allows no distinction in public privileges among the different classes of citizens of this commonwealth.

That the distinction is made in the cases referred to admits of no doubt. That it is a violation of his rights as a citizen, is equally undeniable:—that it is a disability which would be an insult to any white man, and which the whole nation would be ready to vindicate at the expense of her best blood and greatest treasure. It is inconsistent with that part of the first article of the declaration of rights in the constitution of our State, which declares "that all men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential, and unalienable rights, among which may be reckoned," "that of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property;" and "that of seeking and obtaining their safety and happiness." The delay and difficulty the colored man experiences in travelling in public conveyances, frequently interfere with his acquiring property, when he wishes to pass from place to place on business. It interferes with his happiness when he travels for pleasure, and he is deprived of the society of his friends if they chance to be of a different complexion.

The only questions for consideration seem to be, whether this matter lies within the authority of the legislature, and whether any interference on its part is called for.

That it is the duty, as well as the right of the legislature, to secure to each citizen, not only his own strict rights, but also the greatest possible benefit consistent with justice and the public good, is not to be questioned. These roads exist and derive all their rights and privileges from the authority of the legislature. They are certainly to be regarded, so far as the citizens are concerned, as public highways, to the equal use of which, on certain conditions, every citizen is alike entitled. Responsible to the legislature for their proceedings, as appears by their being required to exhibit an annual report of their doings, they are to be regarded, in some sense, as public servants, and imperatively bound to use the powers intrusted to them, as much for the public benefit as their own, in accordance with the spirit of our institutions, and the laws of the commonwealth. Any invidious distinction between different classes of citizens, in consequence of difference in opinion, sex, color, sect, or other rightful and innocent peculiarity, is manifestly opposed to the spirit of our institutions. If passengers were separated because of difference in religious belief; if, on the common highway, certain persons were not permitted to travel without appearing in a particular dress, it would be regarded as ridiculous and an intolerable nuisance, to be immediately abated. Is color any more legal or reasonable ground of such distinction than creed? Massachusetts, throughout her whole code, with one exception, makes no distinction on account of color among her citizens. Her schools, her jury-box, her official situations, are all open to all complexions. The word white, except in the militia, where she acknowledges the authority of the United States Constitution, and the instance just named, is not found in her statute-book. Why should she allow corporations a power which she will not trust in her own courts? How shall the State be justified in allowing others to make differences in regard to her citizens, which she does not presume to make herself? If it should be objected, these by-laws are like the rules of social life, with which the law has nothing to do; we answer, these corporations are established by State authority, supported in some cases by State loans, protected always and specially by legislation, and their accommodations are a *right*, and not, like social enjoyments, a privilege: the *equal* right of all, not the peculiar privilege of any.

If it should be objected that the regulation is matter of taste, which the feelings of the majority of the community require,—we answer, individual taste is no criterion of rights; and even if the majority do agree in this particular, our institutions were established for the very purpose of protecting minorities from the tastes of majorities. That no real reason even of this kind exists, is evident from the fact that the majority of the railroads, and those too the largest, make no such distinction, and experience no inconvenience from the absence of it. Besides, even where this distinction has been made on some roads, your committee are informed that slaves have been permitted to ride with their masters unmolested, where a free colored person is refused a place. That under certain circumstances, color can be dispensed with; and therefore that such exclusion is unreasonable and unnecessary.

Your committee are of opinion that the railroad corporations would most cheerfully submit to any regulation in this matter that should be agreeable to the legislature. The Eastern railroad company forbid a white man to take a seat in the car devoted to the use of the colored people; we can see in this nothing but an unnecessary assumption of authority, which the people of this commonwealth will not acquiesce in. If any shall object to taking action upon this subject because custom, contrary to law, will not be unnoticed by our courts of justice, and therefore an adequate remedy exists already for any person injured by these regulations; we would say, that in many cases, where rights were clear at common law, the legislature has still enacted special statutes to secure the observance of such rights and protect them by penalties. As a case in point, we notice the protection of these very railroads from trespass by persons and cattle. Many criminal statutes are directed against cases which had long been known as offenses at common law. Your committee are informed that in one case at least before the supreme court of this commonwealth, under circumstances of much hardship, the judge permitted the prevalence of this custom of excluding colored men from the same accommodations with white passengers, to be given in evidence before the jury as defense against the party's claim for damages—the case of a Brazilian officer, whose invalid wife had been refused decent accommodations on board one of our steamboats, some few years since, because she was in part of African descent. The prevalence of this custom was pleaded by the company against his claim for damages, and that successfully. The irritation of feeling which such regulations produce, tending to constant breaches of the peace, is another reason for legislative action. We need only allude to the recent cases that have occurred in proof of this. Our courts recognize a limitation in the almost sacred freedom of the press, when it amounts to libel, because then it tends to breach of the peace,—certainly this instance of the same and still more imminent danger of that result, calls as loudly for the interference of the law. Certainly it cannot be out of the sphere of our duties to attempt such legislation as shall secure to all the inhabitants of the State the enjoyment of every right consistent with justice and the constitution. The committee unanimously report the accompanying bill. Per order,

SETH SPRAGUE, Jr.

—

AN ACT RELATING TO THE RIGHTS OF RAILROAD PASSENGERS.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

Sec. 1. No railroad corporation shall, by themselves, their directors, or others, make or establish any by-law or regulation, which shall make any distinction, or give a preference in accommodation to any one or more persons over others, on account of descent, sect, or color.

Sec. 2. Any officer or servant of any railroad corporation, who shall assault any persons for the purpose of depriving him of his right or privilege, in any car or other railroad accommodation, on account of descent, sect, or color, or shall aid or abet any other person, in committing such assault, shall be punished by imprisonment in the county jail, not less than six days, or by fine not less than ten dollars; and shall also be answerable to the person assaulted, to the full amount of his damage in an action of trespass.

The same joint special committee, to whom was committed the petitions of sundry persons praying for some action of the legislature on the subject of the foreign slave trade, respectfully report the accompanying resolve. Per order,

S. SPRAGUE, Jr. *Chairman.*

Resolved, That the senators and representatives of Massachusetts, in the Congress of the United States, be severally requested to use every exertion in behalf of a system of measures which shall have for its object a more complete suppression of the slave trade upon the coast of Africa than has hitherto been effected; as well as the better protection of the American flag from the abuse of it practised on said coast, by persons carrying on a trade which the United States have solemnly declared to be piracy.

Ordered, That the joint special committee on the petition of Francis Jackson and others, inquire whether any measures are necessary to be taken by this legislature to secure to the citizens of this State the rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution of the United States, when in other States of the Union.

Sent down for concurrence.

CHAS. CALHOUN, *Clerk.*

—

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, *Jan.* 29, 1842.
Concurred.

L. S. CUSHING, *Clerk.*

—

The same joint special committee to whom was committed an order of January 19, and the petitions of sundry persons praying for some action of the legislature on the subject of the imprisonment of citizens of this commonwealth in other States where no crime is alledged, respectfully report the accompanying resolve. Per order,

S. SPRAGUE, Jr. *Chairman.*

Resolved, That the imprisonment of any citizen of Massachusetts in the ports, harbors within the borders of other States of the Union, without the allegation of any crime committed by him, and solely on account of his color, constitutes a gross violation of the federal constitution, as well as of all the principles of rational liberty; and that his excellency the governor be hereby authorized, in any case of the kind that may occur, to cause the legality of such imprisonment to be tried before the courts of the United States.

LIONS PAINTING THEIR OWN PICTURES.

Charles Lenox Remond was appointed to address the committee of the Massachusetts Legislature, on the subject of the inconveniences and insults to which people of his own complexion are subjected while travelling in public conveyances. He was listened to not only with respect, but with enthusiastic admiration. The following are his remarks, as reported for the Liberator:

Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen of the Committee:

In rising at this time, and on this occasion, being the first person of color who has ever addressed either of the bodies assembling in this building, I should, perhaps, in the first place, observe that, in consequence of the many misconstructions of the principles and measures of which I am the humble advocate, I may, in like manner, be subject to similar misconceptions, from the moment I open my lips in behalf of the prayer of the petitioners for whom I appear, and therefore feel I have the right, at least, to ask, at the hands of this intelligent committee, an impartial hearing; and that whatever prejudices they may have imbibed, be eradicated from their minds, if such exist. I have, however, too much confidence in their intelligence, and too much faith in their determination to do their duty as the representatives of this commonwealth, to presume they can be actuated by partial motives. Trusting, as I do, that the day is not distant, when, on all questions touching the rights of the citizens of this State, men shall be considered *great* only as they are *good*—and not that it shall be told, and painfully experienced, that, in this country, this State, aye, this city, the Athens of America, the rights, privileges and immunities of its citizens are measured by complexion, or any other physical peculiarity or conformation, especially such as over which no man has any control. Complexion can in no sense be construed into crime, much less be rightfully made the criterion of rights. Should the people of color, through a revolution of Providence, become a majority, to the last I would oppose it, upon the same principle; for, in either case, it would be equally reprehensible and unjustifiable—alike to be condemned and repudiated. It is JUSTICE I stand here to claim, and not FAVOR, for either complexion.

And now, sir, I shall endeavor to confine my remarks to the same subject which has occupied the attention of the committee thus far, and to stand upon the same principle which has been so ably and so eloquently maintained and established by my esteemed friend, Mr. Phillips.

Our right to citizenship in this State has been acknowledged and secured by the allowance of the elective franchise and consequent taxation; and I know of no good reason, if admitted in this instance, why it should be denied in any other.

With reference to the wrongs inflicted, and injuries received on railroads, by persons of color, I need not say they do not end with the termination of the route; but, in effect, tend to discourage, disparage and depress this class of citizens. All hope of reward for upright conduct is cut off. Vice in them becomes a virtue. No distinction is made by the community in which we live. The most vicious is treated as well as the most respectable, both in public and private.

But it is said, we all look alike. If this is true, it is not true that we all behave alike. There is a marked difference; and we claim a recognition of this difference.

In the present state of things, they find God's provisions interfered with in such a way, by these and kindred regulations, that virtue may not claim her divinely-appointed rewards. Color is made to obscure the brightest endowments, to degrade the fairest character, and to check the highest and most praiseworthy aspirations. If the colored man is vicious, it makes but little difference; if besotted, it matters not; if vulgar, it is quite as well; and he finds himself as well treated, and received as readily into society, as those of an opposite character. Nay, the higher our aspirations, the loftier our purposes and pursuits, does this iniquitous principle of prejudice fasten upon us, and especial pains are taken to irritate, to obstruct, and injure. No reward of merit, no remuneration for services, no equivalent is rendered the deserving. And I submit, whether this unkind and unchristian policy is not well calculated to make every man disregardful of his conduct, and every woman unmindful of her reputation.

The grievances of which we complain, be assured, sir, are not imaginary, but real—not local, but universal—not occasional, but continual—every-day matter-of-fact things—and have become, to the disgrace of our common country, matter of history.

Mr. Chairman, the treatment to which colored Americans are exposed in their own country, finds a counterpart in no other; and I am free to declare, that, in the course of nineteen months' travelling in England, Ireland, and Scotland, I was received, treated and recognized, in public and private society, without any regard to my complexion. From the moment I left the American packet ship in Liverpool, up to the moment I came in contact with it again, I was never reminded of my complexion; and all that know any thing of my usage in the American ship, will testify that it was unfit for a brute, and none but one could inflict it. But how unlike that afforded in the British steamer Columbia! Owing to my limited resources, I took a steerage passage. On the first day out, the second officer came to inquire after my health; and finding me the only passenger in that part of the ship, ordered the steward to give me a berth in the second cabin; and from that hour until my stepping on shore at Boston, every politeness was shown me by the officers, and every kindness and attention by the stewards; and I feel under deep and lasting obligations to them, individually and collectively.

In no instance was I insulted, or treated in any way distinct or dissimilar from other passengers or travellers, either in coaches, railroads, steam packets, or hotels; and if the feeling was entertained, in no case did I discover its existence.

I may with propriety here relate an incident, illustrative of the subject now under consideration.—I took a passage ticket at the steam packet office in Glasgow, for Dublin; and on going into the cabin to retire, I found the berth I had engaged, occupied by an Irish gentleman and merchant. I inquired if he had not mistaken the number of his berth? He thought not. On comparing tickets, we saw that the clerk had given two tickets of the same number; and it appeared I had received mine first. The gentleman at once offered to vacate the berth, against which I remonstrated, and took my berth in an opposite state-room. Here, sir, we discover treatment just, impartial, reasonable; and we ask nothing beside.

There is a marked difference between social and civil rights. It has been well and justly remarked, by my friend, Mr. Phillips, that we all claim the privilege of selecting our society and associations; but, in civil rights, one man has not the prerogative to define rights for another. For instance, sir, in public conveyances, for the rich man to usurp the privileges to himself, to the injury of the poor man, would be submitted to in no well regulated society. And such is the position suffered by persons of color. On my arrival home from England, I went to the railway station, to go to Salem, being anxious to see my parents and sisters as soon as possible—asked for a ticket—paid fifty cents for it, and was pointed to the American designation car. Having previously received information of the regulations, I took my seat peaceably, believing it better to suffer wrong than do wrong. I felt then, as I felt on many occasions prior to leaving home, unwilling to descend so low as to bandy words with the superintendents, or contest my rights with conductors, or any others in the capacity of servants of any stage or steamboat company, or railroad corporation; although I never, by any means, gave evidence that, by my submission, I intended to sanction usages which would derogate from uncivilized, much less long and loud professing, and high pretending America.

Bear with me, while I relate an additional circumstance. On the morning after my return home, I was obliged to go to Boston again; and on going to the Salem station, I met two friends, who inquired if I had any objection to their taking seats with me. I answered, I should be most happy.—They took their seats accordingly, and soon afterwards one of them remarked to me, "Charles, I don't know if they will allow us to ride with you." It was some time before I could understand what they meant; and, on doing so, I laughed—feeling it to be a climax to every absurdity I had heard attributed to Americans. To say nothing of the wrong done those friends, and the insult and indignity offered me by the appearance of the conductor, who ordered the friends from the car, in a somewhat harsh manner—they immediately left the carriage.

On returning to Salem some few evenings afterwards, Mr. Chase, the superintendent on this road, made himself known to me, by recalling by-gone days and scenes, and then inquired if I was not glad to get home, after so long an absence in Europe. I told him I was glad to see my parents and family again, and this was the only object I could have, unless he thought I should be glad to take a hermit's life in the great pasture; inasmuch as I never felt to loathe my American name so much as since my arrival. He wished to know my reasons for the remark. I immediately gave them, and wished to know of him, if, in the event of his having a brother with red hair, he should find himself separated while travelling, because of this difference, he should deem it just. He could make no reply. I then wished to know if the principle was not the same; and if so, there was an insult implied by his question. In conclusion, I challenged him, as the instrument inflicting the manifold injuries upon all not colored like himself, to the presentation of an instance in any other Christian or unchristian country, tolerating usages at once so disgraceful, unjust, and inhuman. What if some few of the West or East India planters and merchants should visit our liberty-loving country, with their colored wives—how would he manage? Or, if R. M. Johnson, the gentleman who has been elevated to the second office in the gift of the people, should be travelling from Boston to Salem, if he was prepared to separate him from his wife or daughters; (involuntary burst of applause, instantly restrained).

Sir, it happens to be my lot to have a sister a few shades lighter than myself; and who knows, if this state of things is encouraged, whether I may not, on some future occasion, be mobbed in Washington street, on the supposition of walking with a white young lady! (Suppressed indications of sympathy and applause.)

Gentlemen of the Committee, these distinctions react in all their wickedness—to say nothing of their concocted and systematised odiousness and absurdity—upon those who instituted them; and particularly so upon those who are illiberal and mean enough to practise them.

Mr. Chairman, if colored people have abused any rights granted them, or failed to exhibit due appreciation of favors bestowed, or shrunk from dangers or responsibility, let it be made to appear. Or if our country contains a population to compare with them in loyalty and patriotism, circumstances duly considered, I have it yet to learn. The history of our country must ever testify in their behalf. In view of these, and many additional considerations, I unhesitatingly assert their claim, on the naked principle of merit, to every advantage set forth in the Constitution of this commonwealth.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, there is in this and other States a large and growing colored population, whose residence in your midst has not been from choice, (let this be understood and reflected upon,) but by the force of circumstances, over which they never had control. Upon the heads of their oppressors and calumniators be the censure and responsibility. If to ask at your hands redress for injuries, and protection in our rights and immunities, as citizens, is reasonable, and dictated alike by justice, humanity, and religion, you will not reject, I trust, the prayer of your petitioners.

Before sitting down, I owe it to myself to remark, that I was not apprised of the wish of my friends to appear here until passing through Boston, a day or two since; and having been occupied with other matters, I have had no opportunity for preparation on this occasion. I feel much obliged to the committee for their kind, patient, and attentive hearing. (Applause.)

From the Friend of Man.

THE LEGISLATURE OF MASSACHUSETTS.

BOSTON, Feb. 10, 1842.

Dear Brother Hough—I write you from the farfamed metropolis of New England—from within a few rods of Faneuil Hall, and almost in sight of Bunker Hill. These still speak of liberty, as do the very breezes that play around this ancient city of the Pilgrims. If from the northwest, they talk of the fall of Warren, upon the heights of Charlestown—if from the southeast, they are scented with the savor of Braintree and Quincy—they bring a voice from the rock of Plymouth. And thanks be to God, not only are Faneuil Hall, and Bunker Hill, and Plymouth Rock, still standing; but LIBERTY—heaven-derived LIBERTY, which they symbolize, still lives, and breathes, and has a voice, too, and a voice which, once more, as in former days, speaks in the name of the *Old Commonwealth*—and speaks from the halls of legislation, on Beacon Hill. I have been up there, this morning, and just in season to witness a scene worth the journey from Central New-York, to witness—a scene which attests the truth of the statement, that *liberty* still lives in the metropolis of Massachusetts.

I will tell you the story; but, by way of contrast, must first go back six years, and recall to mind the scenes that transpired in that same Beacon Hill capitol, the last time I set foot in it, until to-day.—It was in February, (if I remember correctly,) 1836. It was the dark day of slavocratic insolence and domination, then.

In the legislature of Rhode Island, measures were maturing for crushing the abolitionists by State legislative action, and the bill was actually reported in due form. In nearly all the New England State legislatures, the same spirit was at work. Governor Marcy had recommended something of the kind to the legislature of New-York. But all were waiting for the key-note to be struck by old Massachusetts, from the State House on Beacon Hill. Her Governor, Edward Everett, had broached the subject in his message, had communicated the demands of the southern legislatures, only intimating the query whether abolitionists were not "indictable at common law," without the formality of a special enactment. Everything looked as though we should be proscribed by the strong arm of law. Nine-tenths of the community expected it, and except from abolitionists no remonstrance against it was heard or was anticipated. Abolitionists in Boston had little or no hope of even the mockery of a hearing before the legislative committee, to whom the southern demands had been so gravely referred.—As a matter of customary form, they were suddenly permitted to appear. At the request of friends in Boston, I went down from Providence, R. I. to attend with them. At the first interview, the late Charles Follen was silenced, and the interview abruptly broken up, because the committee felt insulted by his disrespectful allusion to mobs! Thus repulsed, the anti-slavery committee, on consultation, determined to *print* a "full statement of the reasons" against the proposed gag laws, which they had *intended* to present to the legislature, had they been permitted. The drafting of this document was committed to me; and after hastily discharging the trust, I was about leaving the city, when word came—quite unexpected—that the legislature had directed the committee to give us a full hearing. After three days, this interview was had. Professor Follen and others were permitted to complete their remarks. But when my turn came, I undertook to put the plough a little deeper than my predecessors had done. They had stood merely on the defensive; undertaking to show, by specimens of their Constitutions and publications, that they had not addressed the slaves, or published any thing of a seditious or insurrectionary character. Instead of this, I took the ground of an American citizen, demanding my rights of free discussion, and of a free press, and characterizing the southern demands as an attack upon northern freedom. Amid frequent interruptions, I proceeded, till, pointing to the southern documents on the table before me, I called them the slavedriver's fetters, and began to demand of the chairman, Mr. Senator Lunt, whether he was prepared to fasten them upon northern freemen.—The sentence was not finished, though anticipated and understood, when, in a tone of haste and anger, I was peremptorily ordered by the chairman to sit down. I did so; remarking to my associates, that we *came* into that hall, *freemen*. A suppressed indignation was visible in the large concourse of spectators present. The anti-slavery committee could say no more. Dr. Channing sat near them, too deeply overwhelmed to speak. It was becoming twilight. There was a pause. The committee were rising from their seats, and the audience sullenly beginning to move, when Mr. Bond, a merchant in Boston, asked leave to address the committee. He was followed by others, in defense of free discussion. As they were not abolitionists, they were respectfully heard. The spell was broke. The committee made an evasive report, and legislation against abolitionists was given up.

Such were the scenes of February, 1836. Six years have rolled by. Again I find myself in the city of the Pilgrims. I walk up Beacon Hill, and enter the Hall of Representatives. Scarcely seated, and beginning to attend to the business in progress, I hear the chairman reading to the House the following:

"Ordered, That the committee to whom was referred the petitions of Francis Jackson and others, be instructed to draft resolutions expressive of the sense which this legislature entertains of the insult and indignity offered to Massachusetts, in the attempt, in the House of Representatives of the United States, to fasten upon her venerable and world-honored citizen and distinguished representative, John Quincy Adams, the charge of subornation, of perjury and high treason, for having presented, in the faithful discharge of his duty, a memorial from citizens of this commonwealth.

Also, that this committee be furthermore instructed to inquire whether this assault upon Ex-President Adams, for maintaining the rights of his constituents 'to assemble and petition Congress for a redress of their grievances,' is not one of a series of aggressions upon the rights and interests of the free States, on the part of the slave interest of the southern portion of the United States, by which the right of petition—the right of free discussion—of unmolested travel and sojourn—the freedom of debate in Congress—and the use of the United States mail, as well as the general political and pecuniary interests of free labor, have been abridged, and in some cases destroyed, as incompatible with the existence of the institution of domestic slavery."

Imagine to yourself a grave and dignified legislative body of about three hundred members, the representatives of the people of Massachusetts, listening with fixed and breathless attention to the reading of the above order from the Chair. Hear the chairman announce—"The question is on the adoption of this order. Are you ready for the question?" After a pause, and looking round the house, he again asks—"Are you ready for the question?" Another pause, and the vote is taken by show of hands. What a forest of hands, in the affirmative! Almost unanimous. On calling the contrary vote, only about half a dozen hands were raised in the negative! The next mail carries the news to Washington City.

What a contrast to the scenes of February, 1836! "The Lord reigneth—let the earth rejoice."

Yours, truly,
WILLIAM GOODELL.

From the Correspondence of the Evening Post.

EAST INDIA COTTON.

GENTLEMEN—In an extract from the Alabama Journal, inserted in your paper of the 22d instant, treating of the cultivation of cotton in India, the writer says, "Intelligent gentlemen in England, who have every facility for forming a correct opinion, estimate the crop in India of 1841, at 800,000 bales, which is more than the entire crop of the United States in 1827, and more than our total exports in any year prior to 1832, showing an increase more rapid than at any time in the United States since its introduction into the country."

Whether this writer means to convey the impression, that this quantity was raised for *exportation*, or the *gross product* of the country, I do not know; but certain it is, that according to *all* accounts received from England and from India, concerning the cotton market and prospects, the supposition of his first fact is incorrect, and the second equally so. The board of cotton brokers, who may be reckoned on as acquainted with their business, state that the importation of 1841, (from the first of the year to the last) into England, of Indian cotton, is 275,000 bales, with 45,000 on the way. This would be, in the whole, an increase of over 100,000 bales, the importation of 1840 being 216,000. According to all statements, the exportation to China, in consequence of the war, has very much decreased in the last two years; say from 350,000 bales, in 1839, to 170,000 in 1841. Again, the production *in India* has, for many years, been *over* 800,000 bales, the largest part of which is used in the domestic manufactures of the country. The quality of this is so inferior, from the preparation, that it is seldom equal even to our *poor* Upland cottons, and only suitable in England to work yarn of the poorest qualities.

The writer appears to have written his article with the design of producing on the minds of his brother planters, the impression that a high tariff, and, as he thinks, consequently a home market, are the only relief from this new scheme of cotton planting—this rival which threatens so seriously to injure their business. That India is able of herself to compete with America, no one, I believe, can deny; the exactions of the East India Company are the only hindrance. But does this gentleman believe that after the South has so openly, energetically, and so perseveringly opposed, not only a high tariff, but even one of discrimination, that her statesmen can now turn round, and in the face of all consistency and honesty, seek to protect their rice, their cotton, and their sugar, at the expense of the rest of their countrymen. This will indeed make the southern, *the chief and paramount* interests of the country. If they ever attempt this, they will assuredly array against them a most formidable party, who will, with reason, question *their right* to exclusive legislation. But I hope this will not be the case. I earnestly hope they will consider well before they set themselves in such open opposition to every principle of equality and justice.

The correspondent of the Journal is blind to the chief difficulty which lies in the path of the cotton planter. It is not high tariff, or home market that will be their salvation. It is the change from the expensive, wasteful system of *slave labor*, to the thrifty, economical labor of *freemen*. This slave labor is the cause of all their present difficulties; this is the great stumbling-block in the way of their prosperity, their happiness and their security. With free negro labor, their excellent machinery and virgin soil, they can snap their fingers at the combined efforts of the English and their Hindoo allies to drive them out of the market. Their continuance in the present system will, *anyhow*, be certain injury. No true patriot should conceal this from them.

A SOUTHERN DEMOCRAT.

From the Liberator.

LETTER FROM DAVID LEE CHILD.

At the late anniversary of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, several interesting letters were received from prominent abolitionists, in various parts of the country. The following was among the number.

NORTHAMPTON, Jan. 22, 1842.

DEAR FRIENDS:

Being unable to attend the tenth annual meeting of the good old New-England Anti-Slavery Society, I take the liberty of sending a word, which I should be most happy to utter viva voce, in the midst of the noble-hearted and gallant crew who still sustain the Oriflamme, *truly* sacred, and the *only* true.

In the first place, I would remark, that it ought not to be considered an evil, but a blessing to have lost some officers and men, who were sailing the ship into one port, when they were instructed and promised to sail to another, and who, on quitting, conveyed away our stores, and "scuttled the vessel." In the second place, though we have been compelled to take in sail, we have advanced faster on the voyage than when we had every sail set. The cause of this is, that a current has aided us.

During the year just closed, slavery has dissolved as powerful and triumphant a political party as this country ever beheld.

The first measure of that party, in Congress assembled, was the rescinding of the gag rule, which it effected by a handsome majority, though with the opposition of most of its slaveholding adherents. This and the repeal of the sub-treasury, were its first and last acts; for, except those, no measure distinctive of the party has fully succeeded, and it is now well understood that no such measure can succeed. For though the victory on the question of the rule ultimately remained with the South, yet did the manifest progress of constitutional sentiment, and the hair-breadth escape of their cherished gag, most thoroughly alarm them; and they evidently determined from that moment to sacrifice all professed regards for national interest, all personal and political preferences, and party ties, to the fancied security of their obscene and cruel idol worship.

This result has done more to open the eyes of the North to the fearful supremacy of the slave power, than any, and perhaps every other event of our political history. Had the opposition to Edward Everett been carried to the last extremity, the catastrophe would probably have been completed.—The northern political presses threatened that the entire North would turn to abolition. And note in this, that the most inveterate opponents of abolition in the free States see nothing in it to prevent their embracing it from *policy or resentment*, though they condemn and vilify those who have done so upon the *principle of eternal justice* and the human brotherhood! The South was not blind to the precipice on which she stood, and prudently retired; assigning, with her accustomed candor, on all matters touching slavery, that she did so because *the issue was too small*. Ay, ay! but to proscribe a humble letter-carrier, for an act that would have done honor to the highest character in the country, was not too small for the South!

If any friend or foe should doubt whether I have stated the true origin and cause of the dissolution of the whig party, I would request them to read the letter of Henry A. Wise to the new "State rights" "tertium quid," or "Tyler party," in Virginia. In that they will find, among other things, conceived under firce excitement, and expressed with a coarseness appropriate to a hand accustomed to score its marks on human flesh, the following, avowed first and foremost as the causes of secession from the party just entered upon power; viz. 1st, "The abolition of the 21st Rule;" and 2dly, The constitution of committees, "so that if the question of the recognition of the black republic of Hayti was referred, it went to a majority of non-slaveholders!" So that if the question of amending the laws of the United States as to fugitive slaves, to prevent any more New-York and Virginia, or Maine and Georgia controversies, was referred, it went to a majority of non-slaveholders! So that if a question as to compensation for a negro killed in the Florida war, or any other war, was referred, it went to Mr. Giddings, of Ohio, and a majority of non-slaveholders!

Now, mark the arrogance of these pretensions.—If a question of strict international justice, sustained by the highest principles of our own political systems, and by the pressing demands of northern industry, is not yielded at once to slaveholding prejudice and jealousy, it is an offense, and a cause of war upon political friends! If a question of the liberty and life of the citizens of the free States does not give way at once to a claim of property in men, it is an offense, and a cause of war upon political friends! If a question of taking from the national treasure, of which the free States probably contribute three-fourths, to compensate for this property lost in their own wicked wars, be not left to the decision of such claimants themselves, it is an offense, and a cause of war upon political friends! And this too, when, from the foundation of the government, the slaveholders, with slight exceptions, have had the President of the United States, the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House, and in these latter years a majority of the Judges of the Supreme Court; though they have but half as much white population, two-thirds as many representatives, and, as I observed before, do not in all probability pay more than one quarter as much taxes, as the free States.

Such were the causes of that tremendous demonstration of slaveholding power, by which the fruits of a contest of several years, unparalled for toil, expense and excitement,—the long-cherished plans of restoring the currency, reviving commercial confidence at home and abroad, providing permanently for an exhausted treasury, limiting the presidential term, and purging the government and country of official incapacity, pilfering and prostitution, were annihilated in a moment. Of course, I speak of these things as they were regarded by whigs, and by none more decidedly than those slaveholding whigs, who have wrought the mighty ruin.—Whatever else may come of it, there can be no doubt that it has had, and will continue to have, a marked influence in advancing the anti-slavery cause.

I know there are men, especially in Congress, who may be heard, and might be any time these five years, celebrating the downfall of abolition. We may apply to this the jest of Cicero upon a lady's age. He believed it to be thus, because he had heard it five and twenty years. Let us look at facts. Would slaveholders grow more alarmed, and more reckless of every other interest, if they believed slavery was growing more secure? Do men throw more water, in proportion as the fire goes down?

On the 26th of May, 1836, the House of Representatives, in order, as they said, "that the agitation of this subject might be finally arrested," and "tranquillity restored to the public mind,"

Resolved, That all petitions, memorials, resolutions, propositions or papers, relating in any way, or to any extent whatever, to the subject of slavery, or the abolition of slavery, shall, without being either "*printed or referred*, be laid on the table, and that no further action whatever shall be had thereon."

This resolution was adopted by a vote of 117 to 68; majority 49. It was reported to the House by Henry L. Pinckney, of South Carolina. It did not arrest agitation. That was increased. The number of petitioners increased, and three new classes of petitions, viz: against the American slave trade, the admission of new slave States, and the annexation of Texas, were added.

At the following session, Jan. 19, 1837, on motion of Mr. Hawes, of Kentucky, Pinckney's resolution was readopted by a vote of 129 to 87, majority 42. At the next session, so great had been the "tranquillizing" effect of this remedy, that the slaveholders, in the midst of orderly legislative proceedings, shouted for a southern caucus in another part of the capitol, and withdrew in a body. When they returned, it was to offer, through Mr. Patten, of Virginia, a resolution more stringent and usurping than its predecessor, extending the interdict contained in that, to the subject of the *American slave trade*, and to the "reading" or "debating" as well as "printing" or "reference" of any petition, proposition or paper on these subjects. This was the first gag resolution, properly so called; for, in addition to violating the right of petition, it also, in the language of the Constitution, "abridged the freedom of speech." It was adopted on the 21st of December, 1837, by a vote of 122 to 74; majority 48. This resolution was so efficacious in stopping agitation, that another new and numerous class of petitions, signed by many thousands, who were not abolitionists, but who, under the circumstances, did the work of abolitionists, grew out of it. These were petitions for the repeal of the *gag*.

At the next session, all the former classes of petitions were continued, except that concerning Texas, and a new one for the recognition of Hayti added. The slaveholders found so little reason to be satisfied with the result of their remedies for agitation, that a northern member, Atherton, of New-Hampshire, was called to their councils. He introduced a string of resolutions, apparently for the purpose of reconciling the country to the *gag*, with which they concluded. There was a circumstance of meanness in the manner of executing his task, which had not before occurred. He made a speech in support of his resolutions, and then moved the previous question, thus precluding any reply. The previous question had been applied, on all previous occasions of the kind, but then it was without a speech on either side. This gag was adopted on the 12th day of December, 1838, by a vote of 126 to 78; majority 48. It did not differ from Patten's, except by the insertion of the phrase, "on the presentation thereof." This phrase, as many affected to interpret it, precluded the *reception* of petitions; and although they continued to be ostensibly received under the construction of the chair, still the idea of *literal* non-reception gradually became familiar, and the minds of many northern members prepared to admit it, who had hitherto repelled with indignation the charge of suppressing, under these resolutions, the right of petition. They had contended that the House, after they were *received*, had constitutional power to dispose of them in any manner it deemed proper.

Emboldened by the perfect impunity with which these successive encroachments had been effected, the slaveholders and their northern allies proceeded, at the next session, to inflict the mortal stroke upon the right of petition. On the 28th of January, 1840, on motion of William Cost Johnson, of Maryland, the following was incorporated among the standing rules and orders of the House, viz.

"That no petition, memorial, resolution, or other paper, praying the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, or any State or territory; or the slave trade between the States or territories of the United States, in which it now exists, shall be *received* by this House, or entertained in any way whatever."

This rule was adopted by a vote of 114 to 108; majority 6. At the extra session, in June last, it was rescinded, on motion of Mr. Adams, by a vote of 112 to 104; majority 8; and was restored by a vote of 106 to 104; majority 2, and is still a rule of the House. It now appears that this reconsideration was effected by the interference of the President.

During the entire progress of these high-handed measures for putting down abolition, northern members were assuring their slaveholding friends that it was "going down" of itself; and many of the latter repeated, as if they believed it. But these are "tricks of custom." Their acts, their deliberate and systematic acts,

"Are close denotements working from the heart,
Which passion cannot rule."

Now, my argument is, that these successive outrages upon our rights, the rights of their own members, and upon the Constitution,—each rising in atrocity above its predecessor,—do in fact furnish an accurate scale by which to measure the advance of the anti-slavery cause in this country. And are they not in the highest degree encouraging? Ought they not to lend new fires to our zeal, and new energy to our efforts, from the assurance which they afford that every true word which we utter, and every right thing that we do, will act as with a spell of power upon the mind and will of a great people? The ominous falling off of the slaveholders' majority in the House, furnishes another criterion scarcely less satisfactory.

There are many other interesting topics which press upon my attention, but I will limit myself to a brief notice of one; the case of the *Creole*. It appears to me just as improbable that Great Britain will surrender any of the late slaves of that vessel, as that Virginia will dig up the bones of Captain John Smith, and send them to the Grand Sultan. Those sagacious and energetic negroes have shown that they are fully capable of taking care of themselves; which will be a relief no doubt to the minds of their late masters, always so anxious on this subject. It seems to me that history does not afford an instance of a more determined and intelligent execution of all that was needful for the vindication of their violated rights, on the one hand, and more gentleness and clemency towards vanquished and guilty foes, on the other. It seems, as if by some spiritual law, too subtle for human ken, the peaceful tendencies of some of the purest and loveliest spirits of our

age were reflected in the natural mirror of the negro's heart. I cannot doubt that if the situations of whites and blacks had been reversed, there would have been a vengeful massacre, and a seizure of vessel and cargo. What admirable prudence and vigilance were shown in restraining communication by speech or writing between the whites, and in watching without intermission the compass! This last was the principal thing that saved them: without this, they would, beyond all doubt, have been carried to one of the Florida Keys, instead of the British Bahamas—a small difference of longitude, but making a difference as wide as the universe in their fate—no less than that between an elevation on the scaffold, and an elevation on the shoulders of an admiring and rejoicing people.

A slight fact, mentioned incidentally in the protest of the mate and seamen, attracted my attention. I have always been desirous of learning, by authentic evidence, something more than is yet known of the ordinary course and circumstances of the American coastwise slave trade. Attention has so recently been drawn to this subject, and so close is the concealment of facts in regard to it, that it is extremely difficult to get any light upon it. The fact to which I allude, like all else that we know about it, goes to show that it is on a perfect parallel with the African slave trade.

The protest states that the women were placed in the hold; "except six female servants, who were taken in the cabin—an unusual number and kind of servants for the cabin of a merchant, or any other vessel, thought I; especially as it is stated that there was a steward, assistant steward, and one man servant on board besides. On further examination, I found that there were six white *men* occupying the cabin!

A distinguished senator in Congress has declared, that "he considers it a very creditable circumstance to the relation of slave and master, that, out of one hundred and thirty-five slaves, only nineteen took any part in the mutiny and murder"—that "the residue looked on with affright, or took part with the masters"—and that "this was especially the case with the females." If slaveholders are going to appeal to their slaves for a character, I warn them that they will make a fatal issue; unless the testimony be given with the fear of the lash before their eyes, as I am informed it often is, for the like purpose. But to what does this "very creditable circumstance" amount? Women, born and bred, tempted by rewards, and compelled by punishments, in all possible phases of their existence, to the practice of that polluting vice, which, more than any, and perhaps every other, prostrates all womanly dignity, moral energy, and self-respect, were not prepared to rise up at the moment, and play the part of a William Tell, or a Cinque, a George Washington, or a Madison Washington; and because they were not, it is, forsooth, a creditable circumstance to the relation of master and slave! Surely the credit of that relation must be at a low ebb, when it finds relief in such a fact as this.

Many persons are of opinion, and I learn that it has been expressed by anti-slavery lecturers, that a war with Great Britain will probably be the consequence of this affair, and of other existing causes. If, as an abolitionist, I cherished the spirit which slaveholders attribute to us, I should certainly desire war with Great Britain. For if there be a human being whom such a war can benefit, it is the southern slave. And in any war in which his rights and rescue are concerned, the great oracle of the South has declared that "God has no attribute which can take sides with the master." This is probably the strongest and most sweeping condemnation of those masters, which has yet been uttered. Dr. Franklin said, that "there never was a good war, nor a bad peace." I earnestly hope that the international history of this country and the Father-land will furnish no new illustration of the first part of this truth. Nor do I apprehend it. We of the North can never fight, unless the South, who holds the leash, lets us loose. This she dare not do against any *equal* enemy. For the northeastern disputed territory, she does not care a button. She has already tried to vote it to Great Britain. And if she did care as much about the curtailment of this extremity of the Union, as she does about adding to the other, still, she could not engage us in a war. She has two and a half millions of peace-makers in her midst. The comfortable state of hostilities she has been so long enjoying in Florida, for the maintenance and extension of the "peculiar institution"—a state, which has all the advantages of a war expenditure, without the dangers of war, is one thing; a war with Great Britain, who could occupy her coasts and rivers with steam navies, and pour in her colored legions from the West Indies, would be another. If you would know her present terror of such a contest, read the report of the southern and most slavish Secretary of the Navy.

With great regret that I cannot be with you, and ardent hopes for a prosperous and happy meeting, I remain,

Your faithful friend and fellow-servant,
D. L. CHILD.

J. A. Collins, Samuel Philbrick,
Francis Jackson, *Committee.*

From the New-York American.

THE CREOLE CASE AND MR. WEBSTER'S DESPATCH.

Before resuming the discussion we hasten to explain an expression in our former remarks, which, to our great regret, has been taken as intended to reflect offensively on the Secretary of State. It is that which characterizes the case presented by the despatch "as untenable in itself, and so known to be by Mr. Webster." Our meaning would have been more properly and courteously expressed by saying that Mr. Webster had apparently been forced by his position into the necessity of sustaining opinions which he could not but believe to be untenable. This unfortunately is a necessity of no rare occurrence in diplomatic controversies; and our reference to it was not designed, however in fact it appears, as a personal reflection on Mr. Webster.

We resume the discussion.

The great error of the despatch, if we may be permitted so to speak of a paper from such hands, is in not being confined to the case made for it by Lord Palmerston's admission, in the letter of 7th January, 1837, to Mr. Stevenson, "that those claimants must be considered entitled to compensation who were lawfully in possession of their slaves within the British territory, and who were disturbed in their legal possession of those slaves by functionaries of the British government."

This covers the whole ground of the Creole; for the slaves were, at the outset of the voyage, lawfully in possession of the claimants, and although by revolt they had liberated themselves on the passage, on arriving in Nassau, if the alledged interference of the British officials "to free them" had not occurred, they might, and doubtless would, have been reduced to subjection again by the American master and mariners, aided by others of their countrymen then in the same port. If, then, this "legal possession was disturbed," as is alledged in the captain's protest and the consul's report, and averred in the despatch, "by the functionaries of the British government," as between the two governments, the case would seem at an end, and Great Britain must make compensation. But even in this case there could be no claim for the restoration of the slaves, or the surrender to punishment of the so-called "mutineers and murderers."

In consenting, for the sake of peace and good understanding with this country, to entertain and do justice to a claim under circumstances such as are specified above, Lord Palmerston did not overlook the rights of a third party, the slave himself—and although, for the considerations referred to, he agreed in behalf of his government to pay the value of such slave as *property*, he too justly estimated the natural rights of that human being, and the sentiment of universal justice, ever to think of surrendering his *person*.

And from the moment he was looked upon as a *person*, and therefore entitled to all the immunities of a freeman—he could not, even though charged with crime, be surrendered to this government; for, as was established in our former remarks, no authority exists on either side to demand or to surrender criminals.

We are enabled to fortify this last position by a case directly in point. Some years ago, the British government made a proposition for renewing the expired article of Mr. Jay's treaty, which stipulated the mutual surrender of felons and fugitives from justice for offenses other than political. This government entertained the proposition, and consented to agree to it, *if, under the term "fugitives," the British would include slaves that might flee into Canada.* This the British government promptly and positively declined, and the article was not renewed.

And this suggests a view of the question which we have not seen taken elsewhere, and that appears to us decisive.

Suppose, instead of being shipped round by water, the slaves of the *Creole* had been marched overland to the market for which they were destined—that, in the course of the journey, it became necessary to pass near the line which separates the British from the American territory—and that the slaves, rising upon, and overpowering, or murdering their keepers, had fled into the dominions of England; would they have been even reclaimed? It is quite certain they would *not* be surrendered, or paid for; but would they, we repeat, have been claimed of Great Britain by this government? Does not the very proposition, on our part, that Great Britain should bind herself by treaty to surrender fugitive slaves—a proposition which that government rejected—admit that, except in virtue of a treaty stipulation, we would not ask their surrender?

If, then, slaves freed by their own act, and escaping *by land*, cannot rightfully be demanded by Great Britain, what is there in the voyage by sea that would confer such a right, or alter the claims of our government, or the obligations of that of England?

The case is stronger for liberty on the ocean than on the land—for the earth may be, has been, subjugated by the iron hand of power; but the free, the untamed, sea, disdains the puny grasp of the mightiest of earthly despots—laughs to scorn "the peculiar institutions," dear and well-guarded though they be at home, of people, however chivalrous. Thrice glorious sea!

> Man's steps are not upon thy paths—thy fields
> Are not a spoil for him—thou dost arise
> And shake him from thee! the vile strength he wields
> For earth's destruction, thou dost all despise;
> Spurning him from thy bosom to the skies,
> And send'st him shivering in thy playful spray,
> And howling to his gods, where haply lies
> His petty hope in some near port or bay,
> And dasheth him again to earth—there let him lay.

But, as we have hinted above, there is a third party in all this matter.

And the grand mistake of all who have written on the subject is, that they leave entirely out of the question this party, whose interest and right in it are, of all others, the greatest, to wit: the slaves themselves. The point is argued upon English law and American law, as if the negroes were legitimately subject to either; that is, subject to either at all times and in all places, without any regard to the means of enforcing that law.

Now it is unquestionable that no man can be subject to the law of any country except by his own consent; positive consent, exhibited by his own direct or remote agency in the creation of the law, or implied consent, exhibited by coming or remaining voluntarily within the sphere of that law's jurisdiction. But the negroes, slaves, have never given their assent to American law, in either of these forms. They have been bred within its jurisdiction by force, and by force alone. Therefore, when they find themselves, or place themselves beyond its jurisdiction, they are no longer subject to that law.

Again; the aid or interference of another power, to enfore the jurisdiction of American law, can only be demanded with reference to parties who are legitimately subject to American law. For instance: suppose a citizen of New-York to send goods to England, with the intention of having them smuggled ashore there, he remaining in New-York; the agents sent with the goods may be seized and made subject to the law of England against smuggling, but the principal at home cannot be demanded from the American government, for trial and punishment by that law.

Now, then, the slaves, once out of American jurisdiction, are not subject to American law; their surrender cannot be demanded from any other power into whose jurisdiction they may have come.—Once out of American jurisdiction, American law cannot be applied to them as slaves; the only law that can be applied is the universal law of nature. Out of American jurisdiction, they are the subjects of no government. England cannot touch them: America cannot require England to touch them:—America cannot require England to abstain from extending to them in her ports the same protection, or rather allowing them the same liberty to protect themselves, which she allows to Spaniards, Italians, Germans, or any other people.

In this view the decision of our Supreme Court in the Amistad case was wrong—not wrong in its effect, but in the principle on which it was founded. That principle was, that by the law of Spain, the Amistad negroes were not properly slaves. But out of the jurisdiction of Spain the law of Spain had nothing to do with them. They were entitled to their liberty by the law of nature; and the law of Spain had no bearing on the matter.

Suppose Africa were a powerful nation like England—and suppose the negroes of the Amistad or the Creole, instead of landing in America, or in New Providence, had landed in Africa. Would the Spanish government in the one case, or the American in the other, think of demanding them as slaves from the government of Africa? The question is absurd.

Suppose a number of Englishmen, slaves in Africa, should find an opportunity to escape, precisely as did the negroes of the Creole, and should reach America—what would America say to a demand from the government of Africa for their surrender?

The only character in which Englishmen so situated, or the negroes of the Creole, could be demanded, would be that of pirates; and the only question to be asked would be, whether they were in durance—unlawful durance to them, whatever it might be by the laws of Africa or of America—and whether the act which they committed was necessary to effect their liberation. If they were in durance, and the act was necessary, they were not pirates; and cannot be demanded or surrendered as such, or in any other character.

It is very true, indeed, that the authorities at Nassau have, as is stated in the despatch, placed themselves "in a very awkward position," by imprisoning those of the slaves who were more immediately engaged in the successful revolt; but that surely cannot affect the rights, or, ultimately, endanger the safety of the prisoners, or their companions who were suffered to go at large. And we confess it strikes us as rather ungracious thus to taunt this "awkward," and as we do not doubt it will be pronounced unlawful proceeding, on the part of the local authorities; for it was entered into, beyond all doubt, to manifest to the United States the desire to do all that, under the circumstances, could be done to satisfy our republican susceptibilities on this particular point.

Our marvel indeed is, that long before, these men have not been taken by writ of *habeas corpus* before the proper tribunal, that the offense or crime, if any, for which they are held in custody, may be duly inquired into—and we can only account for this not having been done, by supposing that the same desire to satisfy or even propitiate this government, which led to the original imprisonment, has prevailed over all other considerations, and silenced the voice of law, justice, and humanity.

That they cannot be tried by British laws is certain; for they have committed no offense known to those laws; that they cannot be surrendered as criminals to the punishment of American laws is equally certain; for the authority either to ask or to make such surrender no where exists. Why, then, are they held in durance?

Our readers, will, we trust, bear with us, if we return again and again to this subject. Our chief regret is, that we are obliged by the claim of other matters thus to deal with it in fragments.

From the Correspondence of the New-York American.

REMARKABLE AND OMINOUS DECISIONS IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE U. S.!

WASHINGTON, March 1, 1842.

The Supreme Court to-day gave an important decision affecting the rights and interests of the northern States and the value and destiny of the Union, beyond any question ever before decided under the Constitution. It was on the great case between the States of Maryland and Pennsylvania, as to the right of the latter State to punish any person who should carry away, by violence, *any* inhabitant of Pennsylvania, on the pretense of his being a slave. The law in question was passed by the legislature of Pennsylvania, about the year 1838, I think, under Ritner's administration, on occasion of an outrageous kidnapping of a peaceable, free colored man in the southern part of the State, by persons from Maryland, who falsely claimed him as a slave. The law punishes the crime of kidnapping the free inhabitants of Pennsylvania, by fine and imprisonment.—Out of some case connected with the execution of that law, came up the point which the Supreme Court were called on to decide to-day.

The decision of the Court was broad; covering even *the whole question of the right of trial by jury*, as secured by the recent law in your State.—Well, they decide, with but one dissenting voice, that the law in question, and all other State laws which prevent the most summary reclamation of all fugitive slaves (or *any* persons *claimed* as such) under the act of Congress which ordains the mode of that reclamation, are unconstitutional, and therefore null. There goes the trial by jury, the *habeas corpus*, and every recent provision for the peace and safety of our persecuted colored fellow-citizens at the North, of which we have boasted so much—all gone, at one puff of breath. Still, IT IS THE LAW, for this Court is "the end of the law;" and we submit to the decision, while the Constitution *is as it is.*

We will now set these turbulent southerners, the South Carolina and Georgia nullifiers, an example of loyalty, honor, fidelity and peace, which, if they were not long since dead to shame, might put even them to the blush. Though our dearest rights, and the privileges which we thought we had reserved to ourselves, under the Constitution, are annihilated at one blow, yet "that proud submission, that dignified obedience" to LAW, which is the peculiar, and pre-eminently distinctive characteristic of *northern* "chivalry," "that subordination of the heart which keeps alive, even in *servitude* itself, the spirit of an exalted freedom," and which is *our* glory, and ours *alone*, shall now shine out in this dark hour, the brighter for the gloom with which this dreadful judgment shrouds us. We obey; we submit. It is not for the people to say what is the law, nor to construe the Constitution.

But there is a remedy—a peaceable, loyal, constitutional remedy. And that is, an amendment of the Constitution, to conform it in all parts exactly to the letter and spirit of the Declaration of Independence, which is the true charter for which we fought the battles of the Revolution; and it is that which we won. It seems as if there were an order of immutable Providence, that the great question of radical constitutional reform and reorganization, or dissolution and revolution, should now come before the people, without delay, and be acted on by them. Just as the ominous and tremendous agitation on this subject has begun to die away on the floor of the hall of the representatives, suddenly from the Supreme Court room bursts out this dreadful decision, like a mine sprung under the foundations of the capitol.

Eleven years ago, in thunder-tones of eloquence, to which the whole North responded unanimously and instantaneously, we were told in this capitol, by him who was *then* the greatest man in the Union, that we must never permit ourselves to "calculate the value of the Union." Now, behold the change in the times, and in us! At this moment, as this woful exaction of the costly price of the Union is forced on the freemen of the North, how universally does the dread question rise to our lips, "*What is all this worth?*" The question is now solemnly put to us; and we are called on to weigh the value of the Union against the loss of the "inalienable rights" of all free-born men, for "*all* men are born free and equal;" and, to that question, how loudly swells the answer in those very words, by that high authority, so condemned, proscribed, and outlawed—"*Liberty first, and Union afterward*"—for liberty *was* first, and union came afterwards. Liberty was the first great cause; Union was but an incidental effect. We will be *united*, if we can; but we will be *free*, at all events, while life and strength are left. No consideration of pecuniary interest can be allowed to enter into this calculation.

And now, if they tell us that our desired relief by *constitutional* amendment of the *Constitution*, is impossible, we write our answer on the walls of the capitol, for the trembling Belshazzars to read:—"Mene: Tekel: Upharsin:"—"The days of the Union are numbered and finished: It is weighed in the balances, and found wanting: It is *divided.*"

The theme is vast and awful; and I almost shudder at the responsibilities it opens to us. But we shall not shrink from them.

Judge Story (!!!) delivered the opinion of the Court. Judge McLean alone dissented from it. All honor and praise to him. Judge Baldwin delivered a separate opinion, differing as to the grounds of the decision. He bases his judgment on the Constitution alone, which he deems sufficient, and pronounces the act of Congress supererogatory. Without it, as with it, any southerner may take his slave wherever he can find him, *without reference to State laws, securing liberty to citizens.* Judge Taney and Daniel also delivered separate opinions, making exceptions to some parts of the argument, of the majority, but arriving at the same conclusion.

In the Senate, Mr. Clay occupied three hours with a solid, unadorned, practical speech on his second great series of resolutions—those relating to the revenue. It was plain and unambitious, consisting almost entirely of well-digested and justly-applied calculations of the necessary future expenditures of the federal government, and the proper system of duties on imports to supply the revenue sufficient to meet them.

In the House, after finishing the call for petitions, a resolution, "declaring that Congress had no power to entertain the question of dissolving the Union," was offered by Mr. Pendleton, from Cincinnati.

He moved a suspension of the rules, but failed of two-thirds; though a considerable majority were found thoughtless enough to commit the egregious absurdity of voting to suspend the order of business for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of the dissolution of the Union, in the form of a resolution, declaring that Congress have no right to take into consideration any proposition for the dissolution of the Union!!! O, judgment! thou art fled to brutish beasts; and men have lost their reason!"

The House then went into committee of the whole, on the appropriation bill, and occupied the remainder of the day, mostly with an absurd, impracticable amendment, to require the Secretary of State to give the government printing to such papers as had the most subscribers—thus proposing a mere bounty on imposition, impudence, and perjury.

R. M. T. H.

From the Newark Daily Advertiser.

A VOICE FROM OLD PLYMOUTH ROCK.

The constituents of Mr. Adams have honored themselves in doing honor to his heroic resistance to oppression. The annexed resolutions, a noble expression of the spirit of freemen, worthy the ancient glory of Plymouth Rock, were adopted at a large meeting of the citizens of that congressional district, held at the town hall, in Plymouth, on Friday morning, at 10 o'clock—the Hon. Seth Sprague, of Duxbury, presiding, with the following officers:

Vice Presidents—Dr. James Thacher, of Plymouth, Col. John Thomas, Dr. Amariah Preston.

Secretaries—Col. Wm. Davis, Joseph Pratt.

The resolutions were reported by a committee, consisting of Hon. G. B. Weston, of Duxbury, Wm. Davis, Wm. James, of Scituate, Dr. Winslow Warren, and Amasa Holmes:

"Whereas, the right of petitioning the government for a redress of grievances, is expressly guaranteed in the Constitution of the United States, and is one which should ever be held sacred and inviolate by a free people; and whereas, it is declared in the Declaration of Independence, that when any form of government becomes destructive of the great ends for which it was instituted, 'it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it;' and whereas, it is provided in the Constitution of the United States, that Congress shall have the power of proposing amendments to the Constitution:

Resolved, therefore, That the people have a right to ask Congress to dissolve the Union of these States, and that our venerable representative, John Quincy Adams, in presenting to Congress a petition for this purpose, from Haverhill, in this State, has proved his unyielding devotion to one of the fundamental principles of our government—the right of the people to be heard by their representatives—and that his bold, noble, and triumphant defense of that right, amid insult, abuse, and obloquy, has given him new claims to the gratitude and support of his constituents.

Resolved, That fierce denunciations of Mr. Adams, for presenting the petition from Haverhill, come with ill grace from those who have repeatedly and habitually threatened the dissolution of the Union; and that there is no reason why it should be treason at the North and not at the South, to 'calculate its value.'

Resolved, That the successive rules adopted by Congress, denying the right of petition, commonly called gag laws, are palpable violations of the Constitution, and most dangerous in their tendency; and that the thanks of the people are due to Mr. Adams, for the earnestness and vigor with which he has uniformly protested against these outrages upon their inalienable rights.

Resolved, That we are ardently and devotedly attached to the Union; and that, in our deliberate opinion, the unwise course pursued by the South, in denying the right of petition, suppressing the liberty of speech and the press, violating the privileges of the post office, illegally seizing and imprisoning northern citizens, and in other aggressions of a similar nature, has done more to alienate the different sections of the country, to strengthen the ranks of abolitionism, and to excite the fears of the North as to the influences of their peculiar institutions, than all the other causes combined.

Resolved, That we have no disposition to interfere with the southern institutions, but seek only to be protected in the enjoyment of the privileges of the Union, and our rights under the Constitution; and that experience fully shows, that the security of every citizen in these rights and privileges, is the only course that can preserve the quiet and harmony of the country.

Resolved, That the North has nothing to hope from continued concessions to the demands of the South; that we heartily approve the stand taken in Congress by Mr. Adams, in defense of northern interests and rights; and that, in all constitutional efforts which he may make to protect those rights and interests, we pledge him here, on the Rock of Plymouth, our sympathy and support."

After the appointment of the committee, the meeting adjourned to the First Church, where the resolutions were separately considered and unanimously adopted; and the proceedings were ordered to be sent to Mr. Adams—*venerabile nomen*—and the other members of the Massachusetts delegation.

The *Memorial* says, the venerable appearance of the President and Vice Presidents added much to the interest of the occasion. Dr. Thacher, one of the Vice Presidents, has just completed his 88th year; and both he and Dr. Preston were in active service in the revolutionary war.

A CALL FROM THE SOUTH FOR A TARIFF.

The Savannah Georgian holds this language:—

PROTECTION—A state of feeling is growing up in the South upon this subject, very different from that existing ten years ago. It is natural that it should be so, when it is but too evident that our interests lead us to such a change. Free trade, with all its beauties, has brought with it few or no benefits, but rather a train of calamities, and we find the whole South laboring under a complete prostration of prosperity. We do not hesitate now to say that the cause may be found in the fact that we do not live sufficiently within ourselves. We do not *encourage home manufactures*, and therefore task all our energies, and them in vain, to pay for those things of which the main part could be produced among ourselves.

Labor is misapplied; we produce more of our staple than is wanted, and we have not yet learned to distribute our force upon those objects which would prove most profitable. To enable us to do this, it is necessary to erect some barrier to keep foreign competition from interfering with us and rendering our efforts fruitless by driving us from our own markets. *This must be by protection.* We shall then produce, and manufacture, and consume our own products, and not be thrown entirely into idleness by the great glut of any one article, as is now the case. Cotton is a drug, and at a low price, and till we can turn our hands to something else, we must continue to languish. Even this article requires a protection; and our assertion last summer, that with the reduction of the duty by the compromise act to 20 per cent. the East Indies would meet us in our own market, is nearer being realized than we expected.

The following extract from the Washington correspondent of the Charleston Courier, is the proof, and must wake up the South to her peculiar position:

"We learn that large orders have been sent from Boston and Salem to the *East Indies for cotton*, during the last month! The increasing products of cotton in the British East Indies will soon attract the attention of the southern producers, and a tariff of protection must be resorted to by them."

We suspect there may be some doubts as to these orders while cotton is so low at home, but the least advance in *our* price would bring large imports from abroad, if in July next the compromise act goes into operation and reduces the duty to 20 per cent. instead of three cents per pound.

Communications.

AN ANTI-SLAVERY FRIEND.

Extract from a Letter of a Member of the Society of Friends, in Cayuga County, N. Y. to his Correspondent in the State of Ohio.

From what I can judge by thy letter, our anti-slavery testimony is but feebly borne by our good Friends of ———. Thou sayest, further, "Should the vexed question of abolition not prevent, you will probably have the company of —— ——, at your next Yearly meeting.

I sincerely desire that her way may not be blocked up by old pro-slavery stumps, (as I conclude she is an abolitionist,) excuse the expression!

For the slaveholder, in his serious dilemma, I have a little charity; as I view him with mixed pity and alarm for the awful judgments that must overtake him, unless he repents, and that speedily.

But of those who dwell where all are free; the professed friends of John Woolman and Elias Hicks, and are excusing, propping up, and supporting, one of the most abominable and wicked systems that ever disgraced the annals of history, what shall I say?

Why, slavery could not exist ten years, but for these, and such as these, who give it countenance and support, and *prevent* its peaceful abolition. These free, pro-slavery, White disciples, after prefacing with, "I'm as much opposed to slavery as any body," have the effrontery to tell you, "the slaves are very well off;" and further, "they find that they are not prepared for freedom, without an education."

Wonderful discovery! But under existing laws, those who would *instruct* them must be hung for the second attempt, if *they* are discovered. Query.—When will they all be free?

Then, to put all argument forever at rest, they declare, "These self-styled reformers are dictated wholly by the will of man; some of them are hired, too; therefore we must oppose them." "They do not tell us that all their words and actions are performed under the movings of the Holy Spirit; this is *our* profession; we are a *separate people.*" Yes, and like other bigots, we think ourselves a little nearer the kingdom than *any* of the rest of God's children.

I have no disposition to countenance hireling priests; far from it: for they enslave also the souls, as well as the bodies of men; but the fact is, they are the greatest opposers of abolition we have; and must be, as their policy is to keep the people in bondage, and live on their earnings. Priestcraft and slavery must fall together.* Yet, how should I appear, if while replacing a plank on a broken bridge, a passing stranger, seeing my laborious task, kindly offers to assist, and as he takes one end, I discover he has a high crowned hat, and crooked coat, immediately I let fall my end, and slip off into one corner of the fence, because "he is not of us." Or shall I justify robbery and murder, because some one has been paid for saying it was wrong to steal?

Paul says, "some indeed preach Christ even of envy and strife; and some also of good will." "What, then? notwithstanding, whether in pretense or in truth, Christ is preached; and I therein do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice." We forbid all those who follow not with us. The question now is, shall we be exonerated in letting fall a testimony, which we have been commanded to bear, simply because a neighbor whom we have been calling on for half a century to assist us, has at length become convinced of the necessity of putting his hand to the burden also; and we out of a pure spirit of opposition, and sectarian pride, let go our hold, and either commence an open war upon him, or retreat into a corner, or hide under a bushel, and having stopped our ears with cotton, and filled our mouths with sweetness, sit down in the "quiet," whispering, 'peace, peace, be still! The South are our best customers." It seems to me the very *stones* must cry out. There† is no peace to the wicked; neither is there quiet to the slaveholder; his hand rests on daggers, and his head reclines on pistols. He says, "In *these* only have I confidence, in *these* alone I trust." Oh, wretched man! His faith in these fail also, when he calmly considers what, in the course of events, may, and what may not take place.

He foresees that, "India may ere long raise sugar and cotton for the world; England may get the supply from thence, and of us be independent; she may declare the slaves of Cuba also free; and may (in case of war with us) send from these islands 100,000 sable troops, and land them on our shores; declaring three millions of our enemies free, and arm them; we may call on the North for help, the North may answer; "You forbade us to *interfere* with your peculiar institution; you would not allow us even to remonstrate or petition, in the time of peace; and in time of war, we certainly shall not meddle with what you say does not concern us." The northern citizens may stay at home; and under these circumstances we may not die in *peace.*" If the tyrant reasons thus he may not enjoy perfect *quiet.* May we of the North be no longer partakers in their sins, lest we also be partakers of their plagues.

I see in the papers, the queen of cities has been mobbing herself again. I suppose the next we shall hear, she has become, under the influence of slavery, a wanton suicide. Oh, Cincinnati, Cincinnati, I hope there may be ten righteous persons found within thy borders!

* Anti-slavery meetings are generally attended by all sects and parties, by persons that no other object can bring together, or one house contain; and frequently a free interchange of sentiments takes place; the claims of the priests to infallibility are examined and discussed and their gross impositions exposed; they are, with a few exceptions, pro-slavery; but priest present, or priest absent, the assembly resolves not to fellowship iniquity. The above circumstances tend more to annihilate priestcraft, perhaps than any other existing.

† A silent testimony against slavery is virtually no testimony at all. And even that dignified testimony, which George Fox bore to the efficiency of the "light within," was promulgated by his writing and speaking continually thereof.

LETTER FROM PETERSBURG, Pa.

I have just read with much satisfaction the editorial remarks in the Standard, upon Gerrit Smith's address to the slaves. So far as they go, they express my ideas precisely; but I feel moved to add a few remarks on this subject, which I have good reason to consider of great importance. I am an agent for the Pennsylvania State Society; and my path lies directly along the great highway of fugitives on their way to Canada. The people are mostly ignorant of anti-slavery principles, and strongly prejudiced against them. Perhaps there is no other region of the free States more difficult of access; no where a more determined resistance to the operation of our efforts. For a whole day, I tried in vain to get some foothold in Columbia. The few who are not absolutely hostile have the fear of violence before their eyes. They say it would not do to hold an anti-slavery meeting, even in broad day-light; so terror-stricken have they been ever since the amiable Dr. Parrish was driven from their tavern, some years since, by a ferocious mob, that held the whole town in awe for a fortnight.

In this region, above most others, the address to the slaves proves a stumbling-block in the path of an anti-slavery agent; and to me it seems most unnecessarily thrown in the way. I do wish our beloved friend Smith could witness and hear what I have to see and hear; I think he would then realize that there is sufficient cause for the regret I express at that publication.

Though the great mass of people, in the region I have alluded to, are hostile to anti-slavery, they yet feel considerable sympathy for fugitives, and are ever ready to give them food, and a kind wish for their success and safety. But let the wanderer follow the counsel given in the address—let him help himself to "boat or horse"—and such a state of exasperation would be kindled all along the route, as would utterly shut out these helpless strangers from public sympathy. Their indignation would know no bounds, and would be indiscriminately visited upon the poor runaway and his advocates; while no possible benefit would accrue to any one. The few who know of such an address are up in arms. This, and the Williamsburg Resolutions, have furnished them with new and powerful objections to our enterprise, when their own had become worn-out and pointless. There were likewise some resolutions reported for the Liberator, at a meeting of the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society, which seemed to me altogether unnecessary. There might have been truth embodied in them; but it seemed to me as if the author had searched our vocabulary for a collection of the most severe epithets that could be grouped together; and apparently for no other purpose than to try to say something that had not been said before. They seemed to me calculated *only* to irritate, without the least possibility of doing good. I have not the paper, and cannot quote them; but I trust they did not pass finally.

These things, together with a few eggs, stones, &c. are the *arguments* brought against me by opposers, when I have fairly met their own objections. As a last resort, they draw from their pockets one of our own papers, and read these objectionable doings with great triumph. I, too, am compelled to express disapprobation, and try to explain. In this way I am obliged to throw away much valuable time, which ought to be spent in indoctrinating the people with our great fundamental principles. I really think the imprudence of some of our friends is more in the way of successful progress, than the combined opposition of all our enemies.

I was glad to see the resolutions of the Executive Committee of the American Society, disapproving the Williamsburg Resolutions. I regard it as a necessary step; for though the sentiments therein contained have been repudiated by the society from its very birth, yet they will inevitably be charged upon the whole anti-slavery enterprise, and therefore ought to be publicly disclaimed.

I hope the Committee of the Pennsylvania Society will pass similar resolutions in disapprobation of the address to the slaves. Thus much I have felt it right to say.

J. FULTON, Jr.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM PHILADELPHIA.

After several remarks on the same subject, similar to those expressed in the above letter, the writer goes on to remark: "If the slave follows the advice given him in this Address, what will be the consequences to himself? Suppose he rides off on his master's horse, would not thousands of persons use their utmost efforts to stop the *thief*, who would not have raised a finger to return the *slave?*

"An instance in point occurred some time since in Canada. A slave rode away on his master's horse, and leaving it somewhere on the journey, finally arrived in Canada. After some months, his owner heard of his being there, and taking the necessary evidence, followed him. He had him arrested as a thief, and proved the charge by sufficient witnesses. The rumor being spread that a slave was siezed, a large number of persons assembled, determined to rescue him. But when they were assured that he was charged with theft, and the fact was proved, every hand was stayed. He was led away as a felon, from a place where none could have taken him as a slave.

"My feelings of justice and propriety have been so shocked, and my mind so impressed with the evil consequences that must arise from the promulgation of such advice, emanating as it does from those whom we have been accustomed to consider as the wise and good of our land, that I cannot forbear expressing my own views on the subject; hoping that it may at least be considered in all its bearings, before it is acted upon." M. T.

A VOICE FROM PENNSYLVANIA.

UPPER OXFORD, Chester, Co.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted at a meeting of the Clarkson Anti-Slavery Association, held 26th of last month, and the Secretary instructed to forward a copy for publication in the National Anti-Slavery Standard, Liberator, and Pennsylvania Freeman.

Resolved, That we entirely concur with and approve of the action of the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in relation to resolutions passed at a meeting of the Liberty Party, held at Williamsburg, Kings County, State of New-York.

Please publish this resolution and request the editors of other papers who have given publicity to the liberty party resolutions, to do the same.

CHARLES HAMBLETON, *Rec. Secretary.*

LETTER FROM AN AGENT IN WESTERN NEW-YORK.

PITTSFORD, N. Y.

Our work is going nobly forward in this part of the country. People begin to recognize the *humanity* of the slave; they begin to look upon him as a *man;* and take the same measures for his relief, which they would wish to have taken for themselves, under a change of circumstances. This is a very promising sign of the times. People have long been in the habit of looking down upon the colored man as an inferior, whom it was impossible to raise to a level with themselves; but this is gradually giving place to the beautiful idea of universal brotherhood. Oh, if we *would* but always consider the members of the human family as children of one common Father, on whom he looks with equal love, how would all the evils of the world be cured! How vast is the labor to be performed, before these distant glimmerings can be realized; and how few are the laborers. But God is on their side, and the weapons of Truth and Love from his armory, are omnipotent for the pulling down of strongholds.

Let us go on cheerfully, rendering good service to our race, undismayed by any obstacles we may encounter.

> He who knows our heart's desires,
> And sees the secret, glowing fires
> Of love to Him, both deep and pure,
> Will keep us in his arms secure.

May our faith in Truth and Love ever remain unshaken. By these potent principles shall man's nature become softened, until it is assimilated to that of the angels in Heaven.

Oliver and myself meet most cordial reception among the friends of the slave. Most of them consider it a duty to use the elective franchise; and many cannot perceive that they might honestly and efficiently do so, without resorting to third party instrumentality. The force of education, and the habits of the country, all tend to make men place too much reliance on party organization.

Let us plant ourselves firmly on the rock of Truth, in this arduous struggle for freedom. Everything else may slide from under our feet; but Truth will never fail.

JACOB FERRIS.

TALES OF OPPRESSION.

BY ISAAC T. HOPPER.

No. LIII.

The self-emancipated Couple.

The following narrative was related to me by the individual who is the subject of it:

"I was born about the year 1790, a slave, in the family of James Caulker, who resided in Talbot county, State of Maryland. My master was in good circumstances, and treated me kindly. I was well fed and clothed, but compelled to labor hard. Before I was twenty-one years old, I had a great desire to be free, and was sensible of the injustice of being deprived of my liberty. My master lived expensively, and about the year 1812, became embarrassed in his circumstances. Being unable to pay his debts, I was seized by the sheriff, placed in prison at Easton, and advertised for sale. During my imprisonment, several Georgia speculators called to see me, to ascertain what I was worth. Nothing could be more horrible than the sight of those men. After being in confinement near a week, my master made out to raise the money, paid the debt, and took me home. There I remained about four months, when he let me to William Moore, who lived in the same neighborhood, for fifty dollars a year. I continued in this situation about four years. He then took me home, and made me overseer of his farm. I continued in that situation about three years. I knew my master was much in debt, and I was in continual dread of being again attached and sold at auction, with the rest of his property.

"During this period, a circumstance occurred that sorely afflicted the family. My master took a young man by the name of Samuel Mauldin, into partnership, who resided with him. After some time, this young man and my master's daughter, his only child, became mutually attached, and determined to marry. This they carefully concealed from her parents, who, they knew, would oppose the connection. The young woman, then about twenty years old, made an excuse to visit her cousin, about fifteen miles off, at a small village called the Nine Bridges. After she had been there two or three days, some person informed her father that she had left home with the intention of being married. This information alarmed him, and he ordered me to accompany him to her cousin's. We proceeded with all possible speed, and arrived at the Nine Bridges about ten o'clock at night. We accidentally met Mauldin in the street, and my master immediately dismounted, and seized him by the collar; but he soon disengaged himself, and made off. We were at a loss to find the house where the girl was; but seeing a light, and hearing music, we made the best of our way to the place whence it proceeded. We entered without ceremony; and my master, being desperate, ordered me to seize the first woman I saw. I obeyed, and laid hold of one, and he of another. The lights were immediately extinguished. The women screamed. After a short time the lights came again. He threatened them with death, unless they produced his daughter. She soon made her appearance. Her father now thought he had accomplished his object; and being very much fatigued, he concluded to remain there till morning; but he determined not to let his daughter leave him till they reached home. He directed a bed to be placed for her in one corner of the parlor, and she laid herself upon it. Her father and myself undertook to watch her till morning; but we were both extremely weary, and soon fell asleep. About one o'clock, I discovered the girl had escaped.—I immediately awoke my master, and we again set off in pursuit of the fugitive. Suspecting the road they would take, we soon overtook them; but hearing us coming, they turned aside into the woods, and we passed them, without knowing it. When we came to a bridge, that crossed the Tuckahoe river, we inquired, and found they had not crossed it. We then took another road, which led to Easton, where we expected they would go. On the way, we overtook a Methodist minister, and finding that he was going to the same place that we were, we rode in company to the house of Samuel Watts, who was uncle to the young woman. We were introduced into the parlor, and the clergyman went up stairs. After remaining a few minutes, my master inquired for his daughter, and was informed that she was married by the clergyman who had accompanied us. He was overwhelmed with grief; but as the marriage was now accomplished, we returned home, leaving her and her husband at her uncle's. They remained there about a week, when my master sent a gig to bring them home; and the parties became reconciled.

"About eighteen months afterwards,

afraid of each other; but after some conversation, our fears were removed, and we became firm friends. He took me to a place to lodge. In the morning I rose, went to Rancocas, and let myself to John Stokes, where I continued about nine months. Having now got a little money, I went for my wife, agreeable to the promise I had made her. I proceeded to the neighborhood of her master, and secreted myself till night. After the family had retired to bed, and got comfortably asleep, a colored man, who lived in a small house on my master's farm, went over the river and brought my wife to me. It was a joyful meeting. I told her she must fly for her life.—With fear and trembling, she complied. We travelled all night, and laid by in the day. In two nights, we travelled upwards of sixty miles, to Smyrna. Here we went on board a vessel, about to sail for Philadelphia.—This was in the month of March. The weather became suddenly cold, and the ice prevented the vessel getting out of the creek, for three days. We were informed that a reward of fifty dollars was offered for apprehending us, and that several men were in pursuit. The captain of the vessel was an entire stranger to us, but to his kindness we are indebted for our escape. He hid us in his vessel, and as soon as the circumstances permitted, we left Smyrna; the next day we arrived in Philadelphia. My money was all spent; and I gave my watch to two boys, one white, and the other colored, who put us over the Delaware. We entered Camden about seven o'clock in the evening, and immediately set off for Rancocas, a distance of about seventeen miles; where we arrived about twelve o'clock. After staying there about a month, we went to New-York. At the end of five years, we went to Port au Prince, and remained there about eighteen months. I was satisfied to stay, but my wife was unhappy, and disliked the hot climate; therefore, we returned to the United States.

"I left a sister, a slave to James Caulker. Soon after I escaped from the house of bondage, she had a son, who, her master proposed, should be called by my name; but she objected—saying that when he grew up, he would be reproached as having taken his name from a *runaway*. Such are the ideas instilled into slaves.

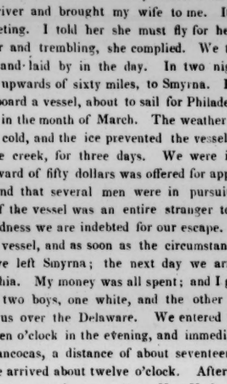
"I have already said my master was in debt. Soon after the birth of her son, my sister was seized by the sheriff, as his property, and with her infant, lodged in jail for safe keeping, till the day of sale. In consequence of hard usage, close confinement, and scanty fare, the infant died in prison. The mother was sold at public auction, and I have never since heard what became of her.

"When I first ran away, I met some who seemed to be afraid I couldn't take care of myself; but think, says I, I took care of myself and my master too, for a long spell; and I guess I can make out. I don't look as if I was suffering for a master, *do I?*"

He asked the question with a roguish expression; well knowing that it needed no answer. In fact, he and his wife are very industrious and respectable people; and the last I knew, were living most comfortably.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 10, 1842.



THE FLORIDA WAR.

The apathy with which the continuation of this iniquitous and wasteful contest is regarded by the people of the free States, is unaccountable. After the failure of such efforts as that of Mr. Giddings, at the session of Congress in 1841, to enlighten and arouse them, I cannot expect that they will be awakened by anything I can say. I will, however, endeavor to call their attention to a few facts.

There has now been expended in the miserable contest of this great nation with a handful of Indians, for the *immediate* possession of the swamps of Florida, (for that they would come to us before we should ever want to use them, the government admits,) nearly *fifty millions* of money. The military expenses of the government are, and have been for several years, about *twelve millions* per annum; that is for the army. The navy has been about half as much more. Now the expenses of the war of Independence averaged *sixteen* millions; and of the last war with Great Britain, *eighteen* millions, per annum. So that for army and navy together, we are actually expending, and have been, for the last six years, (which we have supposed to be years of peace,) considerably more than the average expenditure of the two wars with Great Britain!

And what is the object of this Florida war? It is to recapture the runaway slaves for our southern masters, and break up an asylum which the poor creatures had found among the savages. Is this to be borne? Where is the ancient spirit of northern freemen? Tamed, tamed by "the southern whip," to quote the language of *Senator Preston*; that gentleman, who, for our courtesy in furnishing money for this blood-hound slave hunt, threatens us with hanging if we are found in the southern States, daring to think except as slave mongers bid us. This threat was made in the sanctuary of the laws, in the bosom of the appointed guardians of "the general welfare;" which seems to mean the welfare of the slave oligarchy, and the destruction (if required by them) of every body else.

The treasury has lately been declared insolvent; unable to pay members of Congress their stipend. If this were the *only* bad consequence, I think the people would submit to it with great resignation. The bills of our ministers abroad (*two* northern to *ten* southern) have been protested for non payment. The treasury is now enabled to meet daily expenses only by the temporary expedient of issuing its notes to public creditors. But for this, the wheels of government must stop. Let the South look well to it, or they will hear, at no distant day, in a sovereign voice, *let them stop.*

The deficit of the treasury, for the present year, was estimated by Mr. Ewing, on the 2d of June last, at $16,088,215 18. Yet, we still permit this wasteful and wicked war to go on, without an effort to arrest it.—Alas, alas, for the cause of self-government! Are the many to be forever the dupes and victims of the few?—If they are, let us have *one* slave master, rather than 250,000. Let us save the expensive and troublesome mockery of elections. One good result would follow, if no more. No despot, for the sake of his own credit, would appoint so many corrupt and disreputable persons to office, as the slave oligarchy have appointed in the North, and seem likely to appoint in time to come.

Another thing, no single despot would be likely to legislate against the industry of citizens or sections, or wilfully to ruin the commercial credit of the country.—He would be unlikely to have any feeling of envy or jealousy of any particular section, interest, or pursuit.

Oh, for something that will restore to this people a government they can respect!

England once submitted to tyranny, to escape from the detestable compound of tyranny and hypocrisy together; and under that very tyranny the right of petition was secured, and ever after respected. Does a similar process await us? It may surely be avoided, if freemen are true to their trust.—D. L. C.

The following extracts from Mr. Giddings' famous Florida speech furnish beautiful illustrations of the origin of this disgraceful war:

I wish to call the attention of the committee for a few moments to the manner in which these slaves, in the words of Governor Duval, were "*made to fear for themselves.*" On the 28th of July 1835, John Walker, one of the Appalachicola chiefs, belonging to the Seminole band, wrote General Thompson, Indian agent as follows: "I am, says he, induced to write you in consequence of the depredations making, and attempting to be made, upon my property, by a company of *negro stealers*, some of whom are from Columbus, Georgia, and have connected themselves with Brown and Douglass. I should like your advice how I am to act. I dislike to make any trouble, or to have any difficulty with any of the white people; but if they trespass upon my premises, and my rights, I must defend myself in the best way I can. If they do make this attempt, and I have no doubt they will, they must bear the consequences. *But is there no* CIVIL LAW *to protect me?* Are the *free negroes*, and the negroes belonging in this town, to be stolen away publicly, and, in the face of all law and justice, carried off and sold to fill the pockets of these *worse than land pirates.* Douglass and his company hired a man, who has two large *trained dogs* for the purpose, to come down and take Billy. He is from Mobile, and follows for a livelihood catching runaway negroes."

This, sir, in the language of a savage, addressed to his civilized neighbors. He called in vain for protection. A few days after the date of this letter, he was robbed of all his negroes; so says the report of the United States Attorney, addressed to the Secretary of War, and dated April 21, 1836. But of the number of *freemen* kidnapped at the same time, we are not informed. At all events "*the* SLAVES *were made to fear for* THEMSELVES," as Governor Duval advised. Can we wonder that these Indians were driven to acts of desperation?

Another case is mentioned:

"E-con-chattimico was also an Indian chief of the Seminole band, living upon the Appalachicola river; and was perhaps one who signed the treaty at Camp Moultrie in 1832, by which we solemnly pledged the faith of this nation to protect the Indians in the enjoyment of their lives and property. This chief is said to have owned twenty slaves, valued at $15,000. These "negro stealers" were seen hovering around his plantation, and their object could not be misunderstood. By the advice of the sub-agent, he armed himself and people for the purpose of defending themselves. When the negro stealers learned that E-con-chattimico's people had armed in defense of their *liberty*, (for they considered *Indian* slavery liberty, compared with *white* slavery,) they raised a report that the Indians, had armed themselves for the purpose of uniting with the hostile Seminoles, and murdering the white people. On learning this, E-con-chattimico at once delivered up his arms to the white people, and threw himself upon their protection. Disarmed and unable to defend his people, they were immediately kidnapped, taken off and sold into interminable bondage. E-con-chattimico now calls on us to pay him for the loss he has sustained in the violation of our treaty, in which we solemnly covenanted to protect him and his property. Robbed, abused, insulted and deceived, he emigrated to the West, and now looks to us for a redress of the wrongs he has sustained.

The men who committed these robberies and kidnapped these negroes were well known, for the acts were committed in open day; their names and places of residence are distinctly mentioned; but I am yet to learn that any one of them has been punished in any manner for this warfare against the liberty of the blacks; and the rights of the Indians.

DANIEL WEBSTER AND THE CREOLE.

We would call attention to the series of articles from the New-York American, reviewing the despatch from the Secretary of State to our minister in England. They are written with ability, and come directly to the point. This affair involves momentous consequences. If we are plunged into a war with England, to sustain the institution of slavery, it will be far the most terrible war that ever visited this country. Since emancipation in her own colonies, Great Britain holds an advantage over us, which she never before possessed. She has changed *her* domestic enemies into friends, and now has no retaliation of that kind to fear. If the South, in her blind fury, rushes upon disgrace and ruin, shall she drag us down with her? Who must furnish money? Not the bankrupt South; of that we may be well assured. Who must supply the troops? The lordly South has formerly said, "We will furnish *officers*, if the North will furnish men." But we apprehend that her chivalry would now have more than they could do to drive negroes safely into the interior, and guard them there; they would have few to spare to command *us*.

Before the crisis is forced upon us, let us consider well what *is* the foul system, for which we should be called to fight. It is the meanest system of legalized theft; an organized outrage of the strong upon the weak. Shame! shame! The Mahometan will hiss at us, and the Pagan point his finger in scorn.

No one who has observed Mr. Webster's course, will wonder at his present position. To such result, and no other, must the vile game of political ambition lead those who risk all upon its issue. Upon Mr. Everett we have as little reliance. If we mistake not, he, too, is playing his own game, and not that of his country.—Their masters doubtless catechised them both, and were satisfied with their answers, or they would not have been allowed to be in the important stations they now occupy. Witness the following, which appeared in the Alexandria Virginia Gazette, many weeks ago:

"We are pleased to learn that our minister to Great Britain, Mr. Edward Everett, will feel himself called upon particularly to direct his attention to all machinations or movements which may be made in England, or elsewhere, against what are called the peculiar institutions of the southern States, but which in reality are the rights and interests of our whole country; and that in this he will be directed and sustained by the Secretary of State, whose views with regard to this matter are known to be all that the South could desire."

We rejoice to see such a paper as the New-York American taking so noble a stand in the cause of freedom. Apart from its reputation for intellectual ability, its course has been marked by a degree of candor and integrity, that has commanded the respect even of those who opposed its politics. From what we have known of the character of its editor, we have all along felt that he could not remain a neutral spectator of this terrible conflict between slavery and our free institutions. He belongs to none of our associations; but he is doing his share of the work in his own way, and he does it bravely and well. From our hearts we bid him God speed.

SLAVERY DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT.

We have given in another column a letter on this subject from the Washington correspondent of the New-York American. The correspondent of the Tribune says that that writer has misconceived the import of the opinion of the Supreme Court. He adds:

It is true the Court declare that under the 3d clause of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution, the Congress of the United States has exclusive power to legislate upon the subject of seizing and reclaiming fugitive slaves; and that the owners or their authorized agents have ample right to seize and reclaim each slave without molestation or hindrance by any State legislation whatsoever; and while they recognize the police power of the State to guard its territory from the evils of personal violence and breaches of the peace, the Court most emphatically pronounce the law of Pennsylvania, inflicting fine and imprisonment upon any person who shall forcibly seize and attempt to carry away a slave, beyond its limits, unconstitutional and void. But the writer in the American is entirely wrong when he supposes this *unanimous* decision of the Court (for Judge McLean's opinion does not vary from that of the other members of the Court,) impairs the right of trial by jury under the Constitution, or has the least tendency to the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*.

The National Intelligencer, enumerates the points made by the Court as follows:

1st. That the provision in the Constitution of the United States relative to fugitive slaves, executes itself so far as it authorizes the owner or his agent to seize the fugitive in any State of the Union as property; and that no State law is constitutional which interferes with such rights.

2d. That this provision also contemplates legislation by Congress to make the delivery of a fugitive slave more effectual against all State or other interference.

3d. That *Congress* having legislated, such legislation is the supreme law of the land, excluding all *State* legislation upon the same subject; and with which legislation by Congress, no State can pass any law to qualify, impede, or control, the remedy given by the act of Congress.

4th. The power of legislation by Congress is exclusive; and no State can pass any law to carry into effect the constitutional provision in regard to fugitive slaves, even though Congress had not legislated upon the subject.

5th. That the points thus decided are in no manner intended to interfere with the *police power* of the States to take up runaway slaves, and guard against their misconduct or depredations.

This opinion was delivered by Mr. Justice Story.

The Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Daniel concurred in the opinion that the Pennsylvania law was unconstitutional and void, and that no State could pass any law to impair or impede the right of the owners of fugitive slaves, as conferred by the Constitution and secured by the act of Congress; but they held that the States were competent to legislate with a view to effectuate the remedy given by the act of Congress.

Mr. Justice McLean also concurred as to the unconstitutionality of the act of the Pennsylvania legislature. He was of opinion that Congress, in this particular case, had a right to confer the power with which State officers were clothed by the act of 1793, and held that the States were competent to punish infractions of that act by the owners of fugitive slaves; as when, for example, the slave was seized and carried away without procuring the certificate of the judges or justices of the peace, which it requires.

Mr. Justice Baldwin was of opinion that the constitutional provision required no legislation, but executed itself; and that therefore the act of Congress and the Pennsylvania law were both unconstitutional.

Mr. Justice Wayne concurred with the majority, and, recapitulating the points decided, intimated an intention of filing his opinion at length.

This case was brought up to the Supreme Court of the United States under the 25th section of the judiciary act of 1789, and the provision of a special act of the Pennsylvania legislature, being the result of a negotiation between Maryland and that State, conducted by J. Meredith, Esq. a commissioner of Maryland.

The case was argued by Messrs. Meredith and Nelson for the State of Maryland, and by Mr. Hambly and the Attorney General of Pennsylvania for that State.

Judging from the points here enumerated, the natural inference seems to be that the practical results of this important decision *would* interfere with State sovereignty, and clash with the right of trial by jury; as predicated by the writer in the New-York American.

The opinion of the Supreme Court will be given to the public in a few days; a more enlightened judgment can then be formed of the basis on which it rests, and its bearing upon State laws.

STATES AND STATESMEN.

At the late session of the Massachusetts legislature, the committee on slavery petitions were instructed to consider and report upon the subject of sustaining the recent course of John Q. Adams. They were about to report high-toned resolutions to that effect, when they received a letter from a "distinguished" member of Congress from that State, cautioning them not to identify themselves with Mr. Adams, as *it would prejudice the Massachusetts claim! and offend Mr. Preston, of S. C. who was about to report in its favor!!* So much for the honor of Massachusetts. We have this from good authority in Boston, and are authorized to publish it.

THE LIBERTY BELL.

Copies of this tasteful little annual, published for the benefit of the Massachusetts Fair, are for sale at the Boston office, 25 Cornhill. We think this volume is better and more interesting than its predecessors. The admirable article on Haiti, by Maria W. Chapman, is alone worth the price of the volume; then there are spirited lines by Mr. Pierpont; an article from Edmund Quincy, in his pleasant vein of playful irony; sonnets of great merit, by William L. Garrison, James R. Lowell, and William Story; contributions from John Q. Adams, Harriet Martineau, John Bowring, Mrs. Follen, N. P. Rogers, Wendell Phillips, &c. &c. Whoever wishes to make a present at once pretty and useful, and a clever anti-slavery agent, into the bargain, will do well to purchase.

☞ The Treasurer acknowledges the receipt of the following sums for Hiram Wilson, of Upper Canada, viz. From three sisters in Hudson, N. Y. $3; John B. Fay, 50 cents; James M. Eveleth, 50 cents; Moses Woodward, 50 cts. Edwin Davis, 75 cts. all of Princeton, Mass.

Anti-Slavery Items.

LEGISLATURE OF MASSACHUSETTS.—The railroad bill, to secure equal rights to colored and white citizens in travelling, after being discussed with much warmth, in the Senate, was indefinitely postponed, by a vote of 18 to 13.

The bill for the repeal of the Marriage Law, after passing the Senate by an overwhelming majority, was rejected by the House, by a vote of 140 to 136, on its passage to be engrossed.

J. Q. ADAMS.—A very crowded meeting of citizens has been held in the Town Hall, Hallowell, Me. for the purpose of sustaining Mr. Adams and the right of petition. Resolutions approving his course were adopted with enthusiasm.

THE CREOLE CASE.—The Washington correspondent of the New-York Evangelist says:

"The letter of instructions from Mr. Webster to Mr. Everett, given in obedience to a call of the Senate, excites a deep feeling of surprise and indignation, in the minds of a large portion of northern members, of all parties. The doctrines of the letter, from *such a source* are startling enough. Had Calhoun uttered them, it would have been regarded 'vox, et preterea nihil.'"

AN ABOLITIONIST CAUGHT.—"We have caught," says the Vicksburg (Mississippi) Sentinel, "one of the Cincinnati villains of the abolition school, in the act of carrying off two he and one she negro, and he will get his deserts before we have done with him. His name is L. R. Lawrence, alias John Smith. He came here about three weeks since as a preacher; and through the vigilance of that most active, indefatigable and valuable citizen, Mr. Potterfield, of the firm of Potterfield, & Co. the scoundrel was detected and caught after a race of two or three squares. One of the men and the woman belonged to Governor Lynch, and the other man belonged to a Mr. Randolph, of Virginia, who has been in this State for five years. The thief has been saved from the indignation of the people and confined in jail, under a penalty of ten thousand dollars. When Mr. Potterfield detected the villain he was on board a boat with the negroes, ready to start for Cincinnati."

A HINT TO TRAVELLERS.—The Andover and Haverhill railroad is much superior to the Eastern road, via Portsmouth. The cars are more commodious and lofty, the conductors gentlemanly, and no *distinction is made among passengers on account of complexion.*

ANTI-SLAVERY IN THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.—Many of the friends of missions will be rejoiced to learn that the missionaries in the Sandwich Islands have formed an organization called The Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society, auxiliary to the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society; the object of which is "to assist in the entire extermination of slavery, by prayer to God, and by co-operating with those engaged in this good work." The preamble to the constitution is as follows:

Believing that the fact of our separation from the land of our birth, for the work of Christ among the unevangelized, does not weaken our obligations to co-operate with our brethren there, in averting the displeasure of heaven for national sins; believing, moreover, that the field of our labors, as Christian philanthropists, "is the world;" that we are solemnly commanded "to do good to all men as we have opportunity;" that it is our privilege to sympathise with all who, in the spirit of the gospel, are making special efforts for the down-trodden slave; and especially, that we cannot be guiltless if we neglect to remember those that are in bonds as bound with them; and to seek, by all lawful means, to confer upon *all* the inestimable boon of civil and religious liberty; therefore, we do hereby agree, seeking the blessing and guidance of God, to form ourselves into an anti-slavery society, &c.

UNCONSTITUTIONAL LAW.—A law of Illinois declares that every black or mulatto person who shall be found in the State, without an authenticated certificate of freedom, shall be deemed a runaway slave, and if no proof of his freedom be made, he may be hired out from month to month for the space of a year. The legality of this law has been tested recently. A colored man named Daniel, arrested under it, sued out a habeas corpus; and at the hearing, Judge Treat, of the Supreme Court of Illinois, decided that the law was unconstitutional and void, and ordered Daniel to be discharged.

A LEGACY LOST.—A lady belonging to New Hampton, (N. H.) lately willed all her property to the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions; but finding that Board wedded to slavery, she gave it to the Freewill Baptist Board for Foreign Missions; with directions to expend as much as they thought best in the cause of abolition. The bequest amounts to about $4000, and has now passed into their hands by her death. They intend to divide it equally between missions and anti-slavery.

THE HAVERHILL PETITION FOR DISUNION.—The Haverhill Gazette says that this famous document is a *literal copy* of a petition sent to Congress from the South, during the days of Nullification.

SOUTHERN LEGISLATION.—South Carolina has passed an act to prevent the emancipation of slaves and *other persons.*

An act to make the unlawful whipping or beating of a slave an indictable offense."

What is here meant by "other persons?"

LAW AGAINST COLORED PEOPLE.—A bill has passed the house of delegates of the Maryland legislature, which provides that any free negro or mulatto, who shall come into the State, after the passage of the act, may be arrested by any person, and shall be adjudged to be his slave. And any free negro, who shall leave the State and return to it, shall be liable to the same penalty—unless, in both cases, they are travelling as servants of a white person. The fact that they are in the State, to be prima facie evidence that they have come into it contrary to law. The rest of the bill, which contains thirty-five sections, is in the same *liberal* spirit. Every delegate from Baltimore voted against it. It passed, however, and is now before the Senate.—*Philad. Ledger.*

Congressional.

IN SENATE.

Henry Clay has sent in his resignation of the office of senator from Kentucky, and a request that a successor may be appointed; to take effect on the 31st of March.

Mr. Barrow, of Louisiana, presented resolutions of the legislature of Louisiana, in relation to the Maine boundary and the case of the Creole; pledging Louisiana to support the general government in redressing the wrongs of her citizens, and preserving the honor of the country.

Mr. Walker, of Miss. called for information in relation to the board of commissioners for settling the claims of American citizens with Mexico.

The southern senators are much occupied with the Creole case. It has been discussed in connection with the above subject, with an apparent tendency to exaggerate our controversy with Mexico.

Mr. Allen, of Ohio, offered a resolution calling for information concerning the progress of negotiation in the affair of the Caroline. Messrs. Calhoun, of S. C. and Rives, of Va. objected to "embarrassing the President by calls, while the negotiation was pending;" and the motion was laid on the table. Southern moves being settled entirely to their satisfaction, it is perhaps deemed good policy to keep unsettled those questions between the United States and England, in which the North is especially interested.

There have been a good many military appointments. Thirty-two commanders in the navy are to be captains; thirty-five lieutenants to be commanders; forty-two passed midshipmen to be lieutenants, &c.

Mr. Clay made a last speech in support of his resolutions for retrenchment of expenses, and increase of revenue by changes in the tariff. He charged the indebtedness of the government to the administration of Mr. Van Buren.

Mr. Wright, of N. Y. offered a series of amendments to the resolutions, providing for the repeal of the distribution bill; declaring the necessity of adherence to the compromise act, for retrenchment in various departments of the government, &c.

He sustained the amendments in an elaborate speech, defending the late administration.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Feb. 26.

In reply to the call for information concerning the northeastern boundary negotiation, the President communicated a letter, stating, that according to his judgment, "no communication could be made by him on the subject, at the present time, without detriment or danger to the public interests."

Letters were transmitted from the Secretaries of the Navy and Treasury.

Remainder of the time taken up concerning the printing of the 6th census.

FEBRUARY 28.

Mr. McClellan, of N. Y. offered a resolution directing the Secretary of War to report to this House whether Gen. Winfield Scott has been allowed extra compensation as Major General of the army of the United States, for his services in 1838, in the removal of the Cherokee Indians; and if so, to what amount, under what law, &c.

This being objected to, on motion of Mr. McC., by ayes 98, noes 45, the rules were suspended for its reception.

Mr. Wm. B. Campbell, of Tenn. moved to amend the resolution, by extending the inquiry to all other cases of extra allowance to officers of the army.

Mr. Giddings moved to amend the amendment, by adding the inquiry of what amount has been paid for slaves under the provisions of the treaty with Spain, of 1819, since 1836.

Mr. Caruthers, of Tenn. inquired of the Speaker whether the amendment of the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Giddings) was in order?

The Speaker. In the judgment of the Chair there is no sort of connection or congruity between the amendment of the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Giddings) and the amendment of the gentleman from Tennessee, (Mr. Campbell,) or the original proposition.

Mr. Holmes, of S. C. said there could be no congruity, unless the gentleman from Ohio intended to place slaves and officers of the army on the same footing. [Laughter.]

The amendment of Mr. Giddings was declared to be out of order.

The first amendment was rejected; and the resolution adopted, yeas 115, nays 23.

The remainder of the day was occupied in the presentation of petitions, and a few resolutions. Among the petitions was the following, presented by Mr. Giddings, of Ohio: who moved its reference to a select committee, with instructions to report against it:

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled:

The undersigned, citizens of Austinburg, Ashtabula county, Ohio, respectfully petition that you will take measures immediately to bring about an amicable division of these United States, by a line running between the slave and the free States. Because,

1st. We believe that the action of the federal government has, for the last thirty years, been so controlled by slaveholding influence, in opposition to the interests of *free labor*, as to cause a great majority of the political evils we have suffered during the time, and are now suffering; and that the free States can never enjoy any thing like permanent prosperity, until slavery be abolished, or the Union dissolved.

2d. To say nothing about the evils resulting from slaveholding legislation, we do not like to bear the inexpressible disgrace (as it appears to us) of professing to the world that we live under a republican form of government, while nearly three millions of the inhabitants are held under a system of most abject slavery, and that system supported and sustained, in a great measure, by the action of the federal government.

3d. We are encouraged to this movement by the frequent manifestations made by that portion of the confederacy (the South) from which we propose to disconnect ourselves, of a disposition on their part to do the same thing; from which we judge the measure will not be opposed by them, and from its evident advantages to the North, that it will not be opposed by them.

The House refused to receive the petition—Yeas 24, nays 116.

The House was thin when the vote was taken. As the call for petitions was proceeding in the inverse order, the old northern States were not likely to be reached; and many northern members were consequently not in their places. Many who were present, proved traiterous to the right of petition, for fear of being thought in favor of a dissolution of the Union. This was precisely the trap in which the southerners wished to catch them. We learn from the correspondent of the New-York American, that they said to one another, in the House, in loud conversation, "Let's have the yeas and nays on this, just to show that this talk about the right of petition is all a humbug." And as one northerner after another recorded his vote against his former principles, the enemies of free petition exclaimed, "Now we have got 'em! Now we've got 'em!"

Mr. Pendleton, of Ohio, asked leave to offer the following resolution: which was read for information:

Resolved, That the Constitution was "ordained and established" to form a "perfect union" of these States; and that Congress not only has no authority to take any measures for the dissolution of that Union which it was thus created to defend and protect; but that it is the paramount duty of every department of this government, and of all the people of these States, "indignantly to frown upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts."

Objection being made—

Mr. P. moved to suspend the rules, to enable him to offer the resolution; pending which, a motion of adjournment was made and carried.

MARCH 1.

Mr. Pendleton's motion to suspend the rules was taken up. Yeas 104, nays 65; so two-thirds not voting in the affirmative, the rules were not suspended.

The general appropriation bill was then taken up and discussed until the House adjourned.

The succeeding days, until Saturday, seem to have been mainly taken up in calls for information on various subjects, which apparently led to nothing important.

On Thursday, it was voted to meet at eleven, instead of twelve o'clock, that business might be transacted with more despatch; but on Saturday this decision was reversed, or rather it was agreed to postpone the change till the first of April.

In the debate on the report of the retrenchment committee, it was stated that the average supply of paper was twenty-four reams to each member, for his own use, besides 292 reams for the use of the clerk's office and committee rooms. In addition to this, 106 dozen knives and steel pens, and quills in proportion, and $448 expended for making pens.

A wide range was taken in the debate; and the political parties both admitted that they had used "wrapping" paper in the folding room, during the late Presidential contest, for the distribution of political pamphlets, to the number of 3,000,000.

Married,

In Northboro, February 24th, by the Rev. Mr. Sanford, Mr. C. EAMES to MISS MARIA F. RICE; both of N.

Died.

Last week, at his residence in Philadelphia, the venerable JAMES FORTEN, aged 76. He had been a resident of Philadelphia a great many years, and was well known and respected by all classes of its citizens. Though he belonged to a proscribed race, it was no uncommon thing to see him shaking hands, or walking arm in arm, with merchants of the first respectability. This victory over prejudice was gained by the unblemished integrity of his life, unusual intelligence, gentlemanly manners, and the accumulation of 60 or 70,000 dollars, solely by his own enterprise and industry. He was a sail-maker; and at first found it very difficult to obtain workmen, on account of his color. But the person of whom he learned his trade, pleased with his intelligence, honesty, and enterprise, enabled him to hire for long terms, and make punctual payments. This system gradually obviated his difficulties; and before many years, he employed more hands, and did a greater amount of business than all the other sail-makers in Philadelphia. The sail-loft, which he at first hired, became his own property, and was the scene of his active labors and superintendence for more than fifty years. Being on the banks of the river, he had several opportunities of exercising benevolence at the risk of his life. With his *own* hands, he saved twelve persons from drowning; for which he received a handsome diploma from the Humane Society of Philadelphia, in 1821.

He took a deep interest in the wrongs of his oppressed race, and toward the close of his life lost somewhat of his popularity by his active sympathy with those who were laboring for their elevation. A ship that had been engaged in the slave trade, and was likely to be thus employed again, was in need of sails, and applied to him to furnish them; but he indignantly refused.

Mr. Forten took an active part in the Revolutionary War, and in 1780 fell into the hands of the enemy, while serving in the Royal Louis, under the father of the celebrated Decatur.

He was extremely hospitable to strangers, who were invariably interested in his agreeable conversation and polished manners. His funeral was attended by thousands, of all classes and complexions, including many merchants, shippers, and sea-captains, who had known and respected him for years.

In Coventry, R. I. on the 7th inst. JABEZ ANTHONY in the 62d year of his age. His disease (congestive lung fever) was of one week's duration. He attended the monthly meeting of Friends, of which he was a member, on the 2d day of the week, in his usual health. The next 2d day, he was a corpse. In the death of this most esteemed friend, society has lost a consistent example of Christian piety, and a numerous mourning family a kind, indulgent, and affectionate husband and father. In the character of the deceased, we have had a rare illustration of practical Christianity. He was ever ready in every good word and work. The cause of temperance, anti-slavery, and peace, found in him a practical and consistent advocate—the orphan and the outcast, a friend and protector. The friend and advocate of the slave found in the bosom of his numerous family sympathy and uncompromising co-operation—and it is the desire of the writer, that they may be sustained under this very trying and afflicting dispensation of Divine Providence.—*Liberator.*

THE ONE DOLLAR PLAN.

PAYMENT RECEIVED.

Amount previously acknowledged,		1046 00
1047	A friend, in Farmington, New-York,	1 00
1048	Susanna Marriott, Aurora, "	1 00
1049	T. Wakeham, Philadelphia, Pa.	1 00
1050	Mary Fell, Kirk's mills, Little Britain, Lancaster county, Pa.	1 00
1951	C. Bliss, Bozrahville, Ct.	1 00
1052	H. Gillet, "	1 00
1053	Wm. Smith, "	1 00
1054	L. A. Fish, "	1 00
1055	P. Hilliard, "	1 00
1056	F. W. Cone, "	1 00
1057	Sarah Olmstead, "	1 00
1058	A. M. Lee, "	1 00
1059	H. A. Lee, "	1 00
1060	Mary Ford, "	1 00
1061	Patience Hayes, "	1 00
1062	Mary Lyman, "	1 00
1063	Phebe Goff, "	1 00
1064	Rhoda Cone, "	1 00
1065	N. Greenman, "	1 00
1066	Wm. Greenman, "	1 00
1067	Thos. O. Brown, "	1 00
1068	Festus Chapman, "	1 00
1069	S. A. Collins, "	1 00
1070	S. Burnham, "	1 00
1071	Julia A. Loomer, "	1 00
1072	E. B. Mowry, "	1 00
1073	M. Jemmison, "	1 00
1074	I. Monroe, "	1 00
1075	E. Austin, "	1 00
1076	E. Byrne, Willimantic, Ct.	1 00
1077	S. Byrne, "	1 00
1078	A. Park, "	1 00
1079	I. R. Guild, "	1 00
1080	J. Safford, "	1 00
1081	I. S. Treat, Voluntown, Ct.	1 00
1082	L. M. Treat, "	1 00
1083	F. M. Treat, "	1 00
1084	R. Camel, "	1 00
1085	Abbe Lawton, Griswold, Ct. (avails of a gold ring.)	1 00
1086	Mary Babcock, Lebanon, Ct. (avails of a ring.)	1 00

TREASURER'S RECEIPTS

For the week ending 3d month (March) 8th.

Received for the Standard.—Hosea R. Chaffee, North Woodstock, Ct. $6 66. The following persons have each paid $2, Jacob Farote, and Daniel Arnold, Manchester, Ontario Co. N. Y.; D. K. Hawkes, Honeoye, Ontario Co; Anson Walcott, and John H. Wheeler, Bristol, Ontario Co. N. Y.; Doct. A. Clark, West Bloomfield, Ontario Co. N. Y.; Daniel H. Richardson, Hume, Allegany Co. N. Y.; Isaac Marsh, jr. Victor, Ontario Co. N. Y.; Rawson & Bushnell, Victor; William T. Codding, Bristol Centre; Nathan G. Herendeen, and William Getchell, Manchester; Nathan Comstock, city of New-York; R. Kent, Middlebury, Sommit Co. Ohio; T. R. Hanson, Weymouth, Mass.; Henry M. Tompkins, Commons, R. I.; Asa D. Wright, Denmark, N. Y.; Deacon Hiram Oakman, Marshfield, Mass.; Mrs. William Coffin, and John Codman, Boston; Sarah Law, Isaac Bromley, Charles Dean, Dr. Farnesworth, and C. B. Rogers, Norwich, Ct.; Job Lawton, Griswold, Ct.; William Jenkins, Andover, Mass. S. P. Gardner, Farmington, N. Y. $1; Wanton Smith, Palmyra, $1 50; Jesse Eddy, Palmyra, $1 50; William Hatcher, New Baltimore, Stark Co. Ohio; $10; G. W. Williams, Mount Union, Stark Co. Ohio, $1 66; L. Varney, A. Varney, H. Smith, A. Gifford, George McMillen, J. Russell, and J. Southwick, Collins, N. Y. $5; M. Sawin, Southboro, Mass. $1 43; E. N. Easton, Andover, Mass. $1 66; Mary Shomaker, New-York city, $1; C. G. George, Macedon Centre, Wayne Co. N. Y. 75 cts; Wm. Arms, Wisconsin, 37 cts.

Donations.—Daniel McNaughton, Middlebury, Ohio, $1; Jesse Neal, do. $1; L. L. McMillard, do. $1; R. Kent, do. $1; William B. Irish, New Lisbon, Ohio, $25; Geo. Garrison, Jesse Garretson, Cornelius Whitacre, David Galbraith, Jesse Holmes, and Lot Holmes, all of New Lisbon, Ohio, each $5. A. T. Scroggs, Geo. Reed, Anna Garretson, and Samuel Cope, of New Lisbon, Ohio, each $1. Ann Thomas, $1; Wm. Galbraith, $2; Thomas Galbraith, $5; Jane E. Paxon, $1; Wm. Millard, 50 cts. Allen Daniell, 50 cts. and Frances Galbraith, $1—all of New Garden, Ohio. Hannah Haycock, Joseph Taylor, Elizabeth Allman, Marlboro, Ohio, 50 cts. each. George W. Simonds, East Lexington, Mass. $5; Wendell and Anne G. T. Phillips, Boston, $35; Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, $100; Willimantic Female (*Working*) Anti-Slavery Society, through Susan Byrne, their treasurer, $8; J. S. Treat, Voluntown, Ct. $5; A. E. Cone, B. G. Cone, and E. S. Cone, three little friends of the slave in Bozrahville, Ct. 50 cts.; Mr. Carpenter, do. 50 cts.; friends in various parts of Windham county, Ct. $12; friends in various parts of Litchfield county, Ct. $50; received through the postoffice, from a man who signs himself, "No abolitionist, but a friend of northern labor," $6.—Total, $297 50.

ISAAC T. HOPPER, *Treas'r.*

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

Foreign Items.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The oldest sea-captains say they never knew such rough times on the Atlantic, as during the past month. From the 6th to the 14th of February, was one continued gale. The Caledonia is not yet heard of; the hope is that she put back into some British port to avoid the gale.

Some of the London papers are nearly filled with news from the United States. The proceedings of Congress and the States are given at great length. The proceedings in Arkansas, Illinois, Indiana and Michigan, relative to not paying their interest, are commented on with great severity. Among the subjects of discussion is the affair of the Creole and the liberation of the slaves of that vessel by the local authorities at Nassau. The Times has a strong article in relation to this affair, in which the conduct of the Nassau magistrates is fully justified, and the idea of any reparation by the British government, scouted.

The article winds up in the following strain:—

"Summary work this, with creditors and public officers; but the piper will be paid, gentlemen, and if the States of Mississippi, Arkansas, and Indiana, are not very well inclined to pay him, somebody rather more "innocent" must. And so we suppose, when all the commercial houses, banks, and individual States of America have become bankrupt, it will then be the turn of Congress. Meantime things go on merily enough; Texas shall be incorporated, and the Florida

Poetry.

For the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

THE CHALLENGE.

When Truth from off her lonely height
Look'd down upon this sleeping land,
She rent her veil of radiant light,
And threw aside her fairy wand.
"I see no more," she sadly cried,
"Sweet incense from my altars rise;
The fires upon each shrine have died,
No longer watched by vestal eyes.
From Europe's deathly clime I flew,
And sought a kindly refuge here—
What! must I bid *this* realm adieu,
And seek my own, my native sphere?
'Tis vain to boast of daring high,
Of patriotic son and sire,
If I but mount into the sky,
Freedom herself will soon expire.
Oh, could I find one faithful heart,
From all the sordid forms beneath,
I would not from this land depart,
But round his brow would proudly wreathe
A never-dying Laurel Crown,
And write his name in adamant.
Who'll take the gage I now cast down,
And Truth's soiled banner firmly plant?"
Her thunder-tones rolled far away,
And shook the wide, empyrean air;
And many a heart thought 'twas the day,
When Judgment was to wake despair.
Hope furled her wings of gossamer,
And blue ey'd Faith glanc'd sadly round,
On every sensual cumberer
Of her enchanted, verdant ground.
All Nature hush'd, look'd silent on.
"Whence comes this champion bold,
That is the gage of Truth to don,
Her trampled banner to unfold?"
The land that gave the Pilgrims rest,
That little, rugged spot of earth,
Found him a nursling on her breast,
And gave his angel parents birth.
Now all invisible stands one,
I [illegible] transplanted to the sky,
A [illegible]ching for her son,
[illegible]m as he passes by.
He comes, with aged hands to lift
That consecrated, holy gage—
'Mid lowering brows, and curses swift,
Thus spoke the lion-hearted sage:
"I swear to guard fair Freedom's shrine
Whenever haughty foes assail;
And if a martyr's death be mine,
I care not, so that Truth prevail."
His kindling eye, his pleading tongue,
Aroused full many a generous breast;
Before the old man bowed the young,
And lowered was many a haughty crest.
A meteor-flash shot 'thwart the sky—
Its lightning fell upon that band;
And shadowy forms passed swiftly by
From out the distant, spirit-land.
And he, the hero of them all,
What so attracts his fading eye?
He hears his mother's well-known call,
He sees her shade come flitting by.
"Ah, now," she cried, "my godlike son,
I reap the labors of the past;
The victory o'er thy *temper* won,
Is far the greatest, though the last.
Now take the crown Truth bids thee wear—
A prouder wreath man never wore—
Let other lands in slaughter find
Redress. Ours, in her pride and youth,
Has the unfailing falchion, mind.
The ever ready buckler, Truth!"

E. A. COMSTOCK.

Feb. 19th, 1842.

THE LITTLE BLACK BOY.

BY BLAKE, THE PAINTER.

My mother bore me in the southern wild;
And I am black, but oh! my soul is white;
White as an angel is the English child;
But I am black, as if bereaved of light.

My mother taught me underneath a tree;
And sitting down before the heat of day,
She took me on her lap and kissed me,
And pointing to the east, began to say:—

"Look on the rising sun,—there God does live,
And gives his light, and gives his heat away;
And flowers, and trees, and beasts, and men receive
Comfort in morning, joy in the noon-day.

"And we are put on earth a little space,
That we may learn to bear the beams of love;
And these black bodies, and this sun-burnt face,
Are but a cloud, and like a shady grove.

"For when our souls have learnt the heat to bear,
The clouds will vanish; we shall hear his voice,
Saying, 'Come from the grove, my love and care,
And round my golden tent like lambs rejoice.'"

Thus did my mother say, and kissed me;
And thus I say to little English boy,—
When I from black, and he from white cloud free,
And round the tent of God like lambs we joy,

I'll shade him from the heat, 'till he can bear,
To lean in joy upon our Father's knee;
And then I'll stand, and stroke his silver hair,
And be like him, and he will then love me.

From the New-York Evangelist.

THE LONELY AULD WIFE.

[It was formerly (and I believe still is,) customary among the natives of Scotland, when one of an aged couple died, to leave the chair, which the deceased usually occupied, standing in its accustomed corner, until the survivor should also be called to join its former occupant in the world of spirits.]

I.

Beside the old hearth she hath cherished for life,
Silent and sad sits the lonely auld wife:
Time hath [illegible]ny a trace on her brow,
But Grie[illegible] troubled her spirit till now.
There are [illegible] her eyes that are dim with age,
And she looketh in vain on the holy page—
For she cannot see aught but an old oak chair,
That vacant and lonely is standing there.

II.

Long ago, when her bosom was swelling with pride,
The lonely auld wife was a gay young bride—
And the rose on her cheek wore its richest bloom,
When she gave her hand to the joyous groom.
Faded and worn is her beauty now—
Gray are the hairs on her wrinkled brow—
Silent she sits by the old hearth-stone—
Sad are her thoughts—she is there alone.

III.

Her gudeman is gone to his dreamless rest,
And the lonely auld wife hath a troubled breast—
Yet not for the world would she banish away
The chair he hath sat in for many a day.
She speaketh not, save with a trembling breath,
But hopeth, and waiteth, and prayeth for death—
For joyless and dark are the days of her life,
When the gudeman is gone from the lonely auld wife.

THE VOYAGE OF EARTH.

This gay world so full of Life,
Of hate and love, of calm and strife,
Still ship-like on for ages fares,
And holds its course so smooth and true,
For all the madness of the crew;
It must have better rule than theirs.—*Sterling.*

Miscellany.

From the Democratic Review.

ON ASSOCIATION AND ATTRACTIVE INDUSTRY.

BY A FOURIERIST.

There is a monstrous mass of misery in the world, which pleads with deep and earnest tones for alleviation! This misery, under its innumerable forms of moral affliction and of physical wretchedness, extends to all classes of society, and renders human existence, which contains all the elements of a high order of happiness, a mournful pilgrimage, in which disappointment, suffering, and despair, domineer with bitter tyranny over our feelings and our destinies.

I intend to give, in a series of articles, a practical idea of a system of association, which I believe will remedy this misery, to which so little regard is paid by the political and scientific leaders of the world, who believe it to be the natural and unavoidable lot of mankind upon this earth.

To realize the system, no appeal will be made to the charity and philanthropy of the age; for they have both been taxed in so many ways, and for so many purposes, that the world has become tired of projects which have no vitality in themselves, but must depend upon external aid for support. We shall propose a plan, which, once put in operation, will spread rapidly by its own inherent excellence; and which, while it improves the condition of the laboring classes, will not encroach upon any vested or personal rights, but will offer to the rich a stable and profitable investment of capital.

For an examination of the principles I shall set forth, I appeal to those who desire sincerely an amelioration of the condition of their fellow-men; to those who feel an ambition for taking part in a great and noble undertaking; and to those who, weary of the interminable strife, and the barren controversies of political parties, desire *new* measures and *new* means of reform. I appeal, also, to conscientious reformers, who do not wish to waste their lives and labors upon ephemeral, selfish, and superficial schemes, which vanish with the day that has brought them forth.

It is not political and administrative reforms that the world requires; it is a SOCIAL REFORM. *The* EVILS *which afflict society are social, not political, in their nature*, and a social reform only can eradicate them. The causes of human misery lie too deep for mere political and administrative reforms to reach them; and so long as the leading and influential men of society continue to waste their efforts and intellectual energies in party strife and contention, and the mass suffer themselves to be guided by them, in the vain hope of a change for the better, they will vegetate together in the deplorable social condition in which all are now sunk. May it not truly be said of them, that they are "the blind leading the blind," and that they are wandering in a labyrinth of false political doctrines and dogmas, and groping their way in social darkness, without any true principles and high objects to guide them?

The history of this country proves practically that mere political and legislative reforms can do nothing for the happiness of man, and the social elevation of the mass. We have had over half a century of political strife and controversies; different parties, federal and democratic, have had the ascendency; various policies, Hamiltonian and Jeffersonian, have been carried out; and where are the great results which have been attained? We do not deny that commerce and industry have been greatly developed; that vast internal improvements have been made, and an important material progress has taken place. But are the people happier? Have they pleasing and encouraging prospects before them? And are they moving onward toward some high destiny which excites enthusiasm? No, far from it; social evils have increased, and to a melancholy extent; and the future offers us in the political world the prospect of bitter party strife, of dissensions and discord, and in the social world, of poverty and degradation for the mass.

If we examine the present condition of society with an impartial eye, we shall find that abuses and evils have increased with fearful rapidity, and that they are much more intense at present than they have been at any former period. Our system of free, or, as it should properly be termed, false and anarchical competition, is becoming more and more violent and relentless, and is engendering a degree of selfishness, antagonism, and animosity, between all classes of society, which is revolting to contemplate. It is also leading to greater frauds and injustice in the business world than have ever before been practised, and to a commercial, financial, and industrial demoralization, which is almost legalizing fraud and indirect robbery of every kind. The condition of the laboring classes is also becoming more precarious, and the uncertainty of obtaining employment is gradually increasing. The mechanic and laborer can no longer look forward, as in former years, with the hope of securing a home for old age, but consider themselves fortunate if they can satisfy present necessities, and obtain the means of subsistence for the day. The price of rents, living, &c. has increased, while the price of labor has remained stationary or decreased; the power of capital over labor is augmenting, and there is a general tendency to a reduction of wages, by the operation of free competition among the laboring classes; who, pressed by want, offer the sad spectacle of men competing with each other for the work which capitalists and employers require. The fluctuations and revulsions in commercial operations, and in banking, have become deeper and more sudden, ingulfing the rich in ruin, and reducing the working classes to utter want, and often to starvation. They overwhelm with the most bitter disappointments and despair all classes, and produce an amount of moral suffering more than equal to that caused by civil wars and revolutions of former periods. Our whole system of commerce and industry, based upon free competition and envious strife and opposition, is a round of harassing cares, anxieties, disappointments, hopes blasted, and unforeseen reverses and ruin. The business world is an arena of conflicts, overreaching, and fraud—a school for the most callous selfishness, corruption, and demoralization. Its spirit has rendered petty cunning, craft, and business tact, the most important qualifications of men; made the practice of a pure truth and integrity almost impossible; set up wealth as the only standard of excellence; left in inaction the higher faculties of the mind; reduced the nobler pursuits, like the arts and sciences, below the mere ability of money-making; and caused an intellectual prostitution and a moral degradation which are pitiful to look upon.

But let us turn from the contemplation of what surrounds us, and take a general view of the civilized nations of the earth. If we do so, we shall find, at present, times of misery and distress such as the world has never seen before. I will lay before the reader a few statistical facts, which make the mind shudder with horror, when it reflects that so many millions of human beings wear out their lives in the wretchedness and wo which are here laid open before us. Before stating these facts I will remark, that the system of society of this country is the same as that of the civilized nations of Europe, where I find the examples of misery which I shall give.—The difference between us and those nations, is the difference of government. But the form of government is to the social system what the dress is to the body; we have in this country the same body or social organization as France or England; but instead of the tinsel trappings of royalty, we have placed upon it the plainer robes of republicanism. *If the social system be false, the form of government cannot correct the evils which it has engendered;* to expect it were as vain as to hope to cure a diseased body by changing the dress. The form of government and of the administration exercise an influence only upon the surface of social relations; they do not go to the foundation of society, and cannot eradicate such evils as poverty, ignorance, vice, and degradation, from which man should be first relieved. The great error which has been committed, is to have looked upon political reforms as a sufficient means of realizing social good. The history of the past proves the fallacy of this belief; and common sense dictates that we should abandon a worn-out and fruitless policy, which leads to no results, and seek for new plans and new measures of reform.

Social evils are less intense in this country than in Europe, it is true—and why? Because we have a vast extent of soil and a thin population; and because there are outlets and new fields of action offered to the increasing population, and to those who cannot find employment, or who have been broken down in their fortunes.

But we are verging gradually toward the frightful misery which exists in older civilized countries; nay, we are already in part in it, and we are moving roundward in the fatal circles of the horrible vortex. Some of the miseries of which I shall speak are already upon us; and those which are not, should serve as beacons to warn us of our danger.

There are in the city of London about two hundred and thirty thousand beggars, thieves, pickpockets, and vagrants. What a vast array of human beings are here plunged in vice, crime, poverty, and degradation! In Paris there is in comparison nearly an equal amount of misery and depravity. In some of the wards where the poor reside, *out of every twelve children born, eleven die the first year.*

If the entire annual product of France were divided equally among its thirty-two millions of inhabitants, each would have *eleven cents* per day; but of this scanty product a minority of the rich absorb so large a portion, that twenty-two millions have upon an average but about six cents a day each, to defray all expenses—food, lodging, clothing, education, &c.

The fact that the annual income or product of France equally divided among all, would yield but eleven cents per day to each person, shows the folly of agrarian doctrines, of a reform in the currency, and of all such false and minor plans and schemes of amelioration.

What France requires, *is increased production of real wealth*—increased eight or ten fold—which is only possible with association and attractive industry. What is true of France is true of all other countries. We have had in this country nearly ten years of uninterrupted controversy about the currency, and our politicians have not yet perceived that it is an entirely secondary question, and that the primary and important one is that of production.*

In Sicily, an island so highly favored by soil, climate, and position, the condition of the people is frightful. Count Gasparin, Peer of France, in speaking of the state of its agriculture, and the poverty of the peasantry, says: "When the crops are bad, or the prices of grain are low, so that the landholders require less labor, then the misery of the country becomes intense: without means of subsistence for the winter, *it is not a rare thing to find peasants starved to death in the fields, with grass in their mouths, from which they have vainly endeavored to draw nourishment.*

In Ireland, out of a population of eight millions, every third person experiences, during thirty weeks in the year, a deficiency of even third-rate potatoes.

According to the Journal of the Statistical Society, of January, 1840, there are in Liverpool, 7,862 inhabited cellars, damp, dark, dirty, and ill ventilated; and in these lodge 39,300 of the working classes.—In Manchester, of 132,000 working people, 14,960 live in cellars. At Bury, one third of the laboring classes are so badly off, that in 773 houses, one bed serves for four persons; in 207, one for five; and in 78, one for six human beings. In Bristol, 46 out of every one hundred of the working classes have but one room for a family. In Glasgow, thirty thousand Irish and Highlanders are said, according to the description of Dr. Cowan, "to wallow in filth, crime, and wretchedness, in the cellars and wynds of this great commercial city." From ten to twenty persons, of both sexes, lie huddled together in their rags and filth on the floors each night. The cellars are beer and spirit shops.

Multitudes of young girls, says Mr. Symonds, applied to Captain Miller, the head of the Glasgow police, to rescue them from these scenes, to which they are driven from sheer want. A year or two served to harden and hurry them, from drunkenness, vice, and disease, to an early grave.

The Register General states, that he "has seen in one small garret, the husband, sick of a typhus; a sick child laid across the sick man's bed; two others sleeping under the bed; two window recesses let to two Irish lodgers at sixpence a week, as resting-places for the night; the wife, a young, healthy woman, lying in the same bed with the sick husband at night, and supporting the family by taking in washing, which was hung across the room to dry. The parish authorities having forbidden the exposure of linen out of the windows."—*London Quarterly Review, July*, 1840.

John Critchley Prince, a weaver and a poet, gives the following description of a night passed in a workhouse. He had been to the continent to obtain work, but having found none, he had returned to England:

"The first night after his arrival he applied for food and shelter at a workhouse in Kent, and was thrust into a miserable garret, with the roof sloping to the floor, where he was incarcerated with twelve others, eight men, and four women, chiefly Irish, the lame, the halt, and the blind. Some had bad legs, which emitted a horrible stench; some were in a high state of fever, and were raving for drink, which was denied to them; for the door was locked, and those outside, like the bare walls within, were deaf to their cries. Weary and way-worn, he lay down on the only vacant place amid this mass of misery, in a sleeping-chamber for the unfortunate child of wo, the hapless vagrant in Christian England, at the back of an old woman who appeared to be in a dying state; but he could get no rest for the groans of the wretched around him; and the crawling vermin, which, quitting his companions, crept up and down his limbs, exciting in him the most horrid loathing. Joyfully did he indeed hail the first beam of the morning that broke through the crannies of this chamber of famine and disease; and when the keeper came to let him out, his bed-fellow was dead—had quitted her mortal coil, unshrived, unwept, unpitied, and unknown!"—*London Monthly Magazine, July*, 1841.

We have no statistical details of misery in the United States, but we give the following general view of its condition, which we believe is not an exaggerated picture.

"Of the seventeen millions of human beings composing the population of the United States, it is certain that (leaving slaves out of the account) not less than three or four millions are at this moment, and a very large portion at all times, in circumstances of comparative or extreme destitution. We are confident that this is not an over-estimate; although the number of actual paupers and habitual beggars may not exceed half a million. But when we add to these the vast army of confirmed drunkards, who, with glassy eyes, burning brows, and shaking knees, are reeling on their downward road, with their dependent wives and children, subsisting from hand to mouth, Heaven only knows how—a daily repetition of the miracle of the loaves and fishes, save that the baskets full of fragments are omitted,—with the scarcely less number of immigrants from Europe, destitute of the means of subsistence, and of the intelligence and skill which would facilitate the acquirement; the wives and children of habitual idlers, loungers, and reprobates; the families of the crippled and diseased; of poor widows and persons out of employment—and the aggregate of human suffering from absolute want is frightful. Who can estimate it?"

Besides this melancholy amount of destitution and suffering among the white population of this country, we must not forget that nearly three millions of negroes, who are barely supplied with a minimum of physical wants, are toiling in slavery, and sunk in hopeless ignorance and degradation.

But leaving aside these practical examples of misery, let us take a general view of the policy and condition of civilized nations. There we see regions exhausted under the cultivation of a noxious plant, which is grown to furnish idleness and intellectual vacuity with the means of a momentary occupation and excitement. Then, districts planted with grain,—not to sustain life, but to yield a poisonous liquid, which shall afford to grovelling masses a brutal exhilaration, with its attendants, madness, folly, disease, and death. In one country, we see black slaves, who labor from fear of the lash, producing the raw material which keeps at work the white slaves of another country, who labor from fear of want and starvation. Here the vessels of one nation are engaged in stealing the children of Africa from their native land; there the vessels of another are cheating the simple natives of uncivilized regions out of their productions, and initiating them into the vices of civilization. In some countries we see destitute populations, deprived even of salt with their scanty vegetable food, to supply a small minority with the means of wasteful extravagance. In others we see them living and laboring merely to create products for capital and commerce to speculate upon.

The world is full of useless misery, which could easily be remedied, and which oppresses all classes, the rich as well as the poor. The rich are harrassed by disease and physical debility, by apathy, melancholy, and hypochondria; while the laboring mass are worn out physically and morally in the misery and drudgery of our false society.

All classes are more or less miserable, and none can escape this condition, until a social organization is discovered, which will secure the happiness of all mankind. God sees in the human race a family of brothers, and he does not permit that a small minority shall be happy, and remain at the same time indifferent to the sufferings and miseries of their fellow-creatures. Let the rich and great discover the means of relieving the mass from their poverty and wretchedness, and they will discover at the same time the true means of their own social happiness.

There are, on the part of those who are at their ease in society, a selfishness and indifference, which are as reprehensible as they are disgusting. They pay no attention to human misery: They ask not if there is any remedy; they do not even give a thought to the subject. Freed from poverty, they never reflect how horrible it is to wear out life in a continual combat with want and anxiety. Little do they think that perhaps with every thread of the gay habiliments which they wear, is interwoven the sigh of a human soul; and that on delicacies and comforts which surround them, are spent the life's energies and the vitality of exhausted frames, which have nerves that feel and suffer. Yes, the means of enjoyment, the luxuries of the world, are produced amidst want and suffering, and they come from the abodes of poverty and toil, laden with woes a hundred-fold greater than the delights which they give! The attention of political leaders, and of the influential, must be called to the subject of human misery. The condition of mankind demands, and demands urgently, alleviation. Their appeals go forth, sometimes in the stifled moans of hidden miseries, sometimes in the loud wails of desperate wo. Wars, revolutions, and famine, stride alternately over nations, marking with characters of blood and devastation the annals of our societies. This state of things must cease; it is not the destiny of man. It has not its origin in the imperfection or depravity of human nature, but in a false organization of society, which deranges and misemploys all the elements of good in man, and produces discord, injustice, and misery, where order, justice, and happiness might and should prevail.

* Money, whether paper or specie, is merely the representative of the products of industry. By industry, we understand agriculture, manufactures, and mechanics. If we wish to render a country rich and prosperous, we must increase those products, not their conventional representative. Instead of endless quarrels about the currency, we want a reorganization of industry, and a good application of the three elements of production, which are labor, capital, and talent.

MARY DANIEL.

The following highly interesting story was published in the Cincinnati Philanthropist, in the summer of 1840:

Mary Daniel was a poor girl, born of free white parents, in the county of Frederick, Maryland. At ten years of age, she was put out to service with a man named Christian Stoner. With him she lived two years, when Mr. J. B. a gentleman who had once resided in Albany, N. Y. and subsequently removed to Georgia, making a visit to the North, stopped at Mr. Stoner's, and, pleased with the girl, wished to take her along with him. Whether there was fair dealing on the part of Stoner or not, Mary was placed under the care of B. and his wife, who proceeded homewards. In their family she grew up to womanhood; but although they treated her with much kindness, she found herself *a slave*. Knowing that she was free-born, again and again she besought them to acknowledge her freedom, and secure it in such a way, that in a reverse of fortune, she might be safe. Her prayers were unavailing.—Without resources, helpless, cut off from all communication with her kindred, from whom she had been sundered, she was obliged to submit. Mr. B. died, enjoining upon his wife to provide well for Mary. After this, Mary lived with the widow some five or six years, and ceased not all the while to demand an acknowledgment of her rights. To every demand the answer was, that she was safe enough—she need not fear—care would be taken of her.

At length, Mrs. B. married a man named J. M. who was involved in debt. Mary remonstrated against this, for she saw the danger to which it subjected her; and with more earnestness than ever she intreated her mistress to take some measures to have her freedom placed beyond dispute. Justice was still denied her.

Mrs. M. lived but two years after her marriage, and left Mary friendless, unprotected, without any means of establishing her freedom, and at the mercy of the widower. She was a good-looking girl; and the fairness of her complexion and relief of her features, showed her origin. M. knew that she was in his power. He would have treated her as other female slaves in similar circumstances are frequently treated, but she resisted all his advances; for, in her own language, she was determined "to keep her character." At length, deceiving her by a sham ceremony before a magistrate, who, she afterwards learned, was a man of no respectability, he prevailed on her to become—*his wife*.

She had eight children by him; but this did not prevent him from treating her with the greatest brutality. At last, being utterly unable to pay his debts, he sold her, and her eight children—one of them still hanging at the breast—to a slave trader, by the name of G. S. The scene of these transactions was in Greensborough, Green county, Georgia.

S. tried to sell them; but the fact that they were all white, and that the mother constantly asserted her right to freedom, in the most solemn manner, prevented him from succeeding, in that neighborhood. He took them to a distant place, (Pendleton, S. C. we think,) and disposed of them among his relations there. There were four boys—William, Reuben, Henry, and Lemuel; and three girls—Nancy, Jane, and Marian. One child had died. William and Reuben, the eldest, having been sent to work in a gold mine, escaped to a free State, (so it was told the mother,) and she had not heard of them since. She and her two other boys were owned by one master, named W. S. The girl lived in the neighborhood when she left the State; what has been their fate since, she knows not.

With S. she lived eight or nine years, when he sold her and her two sons, Henry and Lemuel, to R. B. a farmer, and a trader in slaves. By him they were carried to Huntsville, Alabama, and pawned to a gentleman in that place, who sent them to Madison, Mississippi. She indignantly protested against every transfer thus made; proclaiming aloud, and at all times, that she was a free woman. "But what could I do?" said she. "I was a lone woman; they would tell me that they believed it all; but I could not help myself; there was nobody to help me."

At Madison, she was purchased by the firm of F. & B. This was about five years ago. Henry was sent to work on a plantation owned by them in Carroll county, whither she soon followed. Lemuel was retained in the family of F.; B. dying, the remaining partner soon failed, and his property was levied on. Lemuel, a boy of about 14, was sold to two men in Canton, Miss. one a lawyer. This happened, the mother thinks, last February, a year ago. Henry, (about 18 years old,) was sold last spring to a man named J. Y. who disposed of him to a gentleman in Arkansas, for $700. After this, the mother was sold, notwithstanding her solemn and repeated declarations that she was free. While under the hammer, she stepped forward, and told the crowd that she was as free as any of them; she was a lone and helpless woman; for years they had been running her about as a slave; she had been cheated and abused long enough; she was determined now to be free, at all hazards, and nobody need buy her, for she would not do service for any of them. Many applauded her spirit; a sentiment prevailed with the majority that she was indeed a free woman. Few would aid; the sale, however, went on, and she was struck off to D. W. a marshal. But she was as good as her word; she made her escape, and went back to the estate where she had been living. She was caught, but again she fled; and, after enduring incredible hardships, by the aid of several persons who believed her free, she reached Manchester, and soon after contrived to get employment as chamber-maid, on board the steamboat Virago (we think that is the name,) on the lower Mississippi. She continued here for a few months, until the boat was sold in New Orleans; when she took passage on board a boat bound for Cincinnati, where she arrived about five weeks ago.

An utter stranger in a strange land; a prisoner just escaped from a forty years' captivity; a robbed, abused, broken-hearted old woman; bereft of her children, her rights unacknowledged, ignorant, inexperienced and almost penniless, with none to pity or to counsel her. Ordinary energies would have sunk under such circumstances. "I would not have cared so much," said she, in relating to us her story, "if there had been none but me. But my children—they shall not be slaves—I'll die first." For forty years she had struggled with her fate; and in every way which her ingenuity could suggest, had she striven for liberty. Cruel treatment had been her portion during the greatest part of her bondage.—Badly fed, worse clothed, steadily worked, she had yet, at different times, by extra labor, contrived to amass small sums, with which she would employ somebody to write to various persons in Frederick county, Maryland, respecting her condition. In one case, a man to whom she had given fifty dollars, to interest himself in the matter, absconded. In other cases, the presumption is, that through ignorance or dishonesty, no proper communications were made. At last, agonized at being separated from the two children, who had so long shared her sad vicissitudes, she resolved, at the risk of her life, to make her escape.

On arriving in Cincinnati, she applied to a lawyer, who directed her to our residence. She told the story we have related, with energy and pathos. It was hard to disbelieve it. She begged us to interest ourselves for her; said she was free, and was resolved to prove it; and, that she was going back again to get her children out of slavery. On being questioned particularly, she named several persons, whom she had known in Frederick. A member of our family, a gentleman who had formerly resided in that county, recognized the names at once. The case was put into the hands of a lawyer, who, on hearing the story, generously volunteered his services in her behalf. The only hope was, that there might yet be living in Frederick those who could identify her. Through the efforts of the counsel, a small sum was raised to pay her passage, and a letter by him, to a lawyer in Frederick, recommending the case to his care. She left Cincinnati, and in three weeks from the time of her departure, was back again with papers, which must satisfy every mind of her freedom. She was fortunate enough to be recognized by two old citizens of the county, who both rejoiced in being able to testify to her free birth. One of the affidavits we copy:

"State of Maryland, Frederick County, to wit:—

Be it remembered, that on the 28th day of April, 1840, before the subscriber, one of the Justices of the Peace for the State of Maryland, in and for Frederick county, aforesaid, personally appeared, Henry Kauffman, a respectable resident of Fredericktown, and Frederick county aforesaid, and made oath on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, that he knew a little girl by the name of Mary Daniel, who resided a short time in the family of Mr. George Adams Ebert, upwards of forty years ago; that after she had left Mr. Ebert, she resided in the family of Mr. Christian Stoner, about two years; from that time he had never seen or heard of her, until within the last few days; when a woman, bearing the name of Mrs. Mary Morris, made her appearance in this city, making inquiry relative to her parents; in the person of this Mrs. Mary Morris, who represents herself as residing at this time in Carroll county, he recognizes Mary Daniel, who formerly resided in this place upwards of forty years ago; he further deposes and saith, that he knew the father and mother of Mary Daniel, now Mary Morris; that her mother was a white woman, of English extraction; and that her father was a Spaniard, of dark complexion; but certainly her mother was white; that Mary Morris is a free woman, free born, and a white mother; and if she or her children are held in bondage, it must be in gross fraud of her right.

Sworn before, GEORGE HOUER,
A Justice of the Peace."

The other affidavit, the purport of which is the same, is that of Mr. George Adams Ebert himself, with whom Mary lived for a short time. To both affidavits, the following certificate is appended:

"State of Maryland, }
Frederick County, } ss.

I hereby certify, that George Houer, gentleman, before whom the above affidavits appear to have been made, and whose name is thereto subscribed, was at the time thereof a Justice of the Peace for the State of Maryland, in and for said county, duly commissioned and sworn, and to all his acts as such, full faith and credit ought to be given, as well in courts of justice as thereout.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto subscribed my name, and affixed the seal of Frederick county, this 26th day of April, 1840.

HENRY SCHLEY, Clerk."

We are thus particular in giving these documents, that the reader may know how much credit to attach to this strange story.

The poor woman is over fifty, but still vigorous. She started from here last Tuesday on her way to Mississippi, full of hope, and determined to have her own right to liberty established by legal evidence, that she may obtain the freedom of her children.

The whole case is calculated to increase our abhorrence of slavery. It shows that the slaveholder has no respect to color—with him it is immaterial whether his victim be white or black—and that after all the boasted jealousy of southerners, in respect to the rights of the free, they care very little about them. Power with them is evidence of right. Here was a poor woman forty years continually asserting her freedom, and yet no *chivalrous* son of the South was humane enough to look into the matter, or give her an opportunity of proving her declaration. There is too much reason to apprehend, that many a slave, burning at this moment under a southern sun, has as clear a title to liberty, by law, as the reckless wretch who robs him of his earnings.

☞ It is proper to say, that we have in our possession the names of the persons mentioned in the story.

From the New-York American.

PETER SCRIBER ON "DISUNION."

Among the odd and curious things of the day, is to hear folks *talk* about "Disunion;" just as though it was a matter that only required a few chaps in Congress to *threaten* to bring about—and it was done. I remember well, when I was a little boy, there was a good-natured, honest, good-for-nothing kind of character, who made traps, and sleds, and kites for us boys; and though he was an old fellow, yet took about as much pleasure in using them as we did. If, by any chance, anything did not please him; or, in other words, we refused to gratify any of his whims, or fancies, or exorbitant demands on our limited means, he would begin first to grumble and growl; and if that did not bring us to his claims and terms, he would take up an old saw, and clapping it across his leg, say, "Well, there is no use in my having legs, and I'll just turn to and saw them off." This was always sure to frighten us; and one and all would rush up and beg and pray to him not to do so; and if he would only desist, we would do all he wanted us to do. Thus for years he kept us in perfect subjugation; but as time rolled on, we grew wiser, and one of the boys taunted him, and had the *audacity* to dare him to the trial of sawing his leg off. And whilst some of the youngsters cried with fear, the old fellow seized the saw—took a file and "set the teeth," and flourished and slatted round—and—and—"upon the whole," said, that "if it was not for the *little boys*, whose hearts would break if he did it, he would not only saw his legs off, but afterwards saw his head off."

This is a true story, and since I have grown to manhood, I have often been reminded of it, when I hear folks threaten "disunion"—it did alarm me at first, I must confess; but I have since learned better. And I now say to all *disunionists*, in and out of Congress—"You'd better try it; for, like the old rogue with the saw, if you don't get sick of it before you get through, I am mistaken."

SUGAR REFINING.

We were not aware, until we noticed a statement of the fact in the New-York Journal of Commerce, of the strange condition sugar refiners stand in at present. That business has been stimulated by a drawback allowed by law on the exportation of refined sugar, considerably greater than the amount of duty on the raw material. The law fixed a specific drawback on the exportation of refined sugar, which enabled the refiners to carry on a successful competition with Englishmen in the great markets of the Mediterranean. But the case is to be immensely reversed. The sugar refiners of Great Britain get a drawback on the export of the article, which will enable loaf sugar, according to the last prices current, to be laid down here at about seven and a half cents a pound. With the duty paid, it may be sold at ten cents. The business of sugar refining, which for a few years past, has been pushed to its utmost capacity, must now be almost, if not entirely, abandoned in our country, unless something can be done to change the circumstances which now exist.—*Salem Gazette.*

Miscellaneous Items.

ONE OF THE OLDEN TIME—Died, on the 14th instant, at her residence, in the rear of St. Mark's Church, Eleventh st. N.Y. Mrs. *Mary Bay*, (colored,) in the *ninety-sixth* year of her age. She was born in the family of Gerardus Stuyvesant, (a grandson of the last of the Dutch Governors, Peter Stuyvesant,) in the year 1747, in whose service and that of his son she continued as long as they lived.—Gerardus Stuyvesant served the city as an Alderman for thirty successive years, from 1723 to 1753, and died in 1777, at an advanced age. His house stood near the site of the present St. Mark's Church; so that "Mammy Mary," (as she was familiarly called,) has ended her long life almost upon the same spot where it was begun. Although she and her children received their freedom many years ago, they preferred to remain in the service of their old master's family, who made a comfortable provision for their declining years.

HONOR TO LOUISIANA.—The House of Representatives of Louisiana have passed the following resolution on the subject of repudiation. There was but one dissenting vote.

Whereas, numerous and repeated attacks have been for some time past publicly made upon American credit, by false and indiscriminate charges touching the honor and good faith of many of the States of this Union,

Be it therefore resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives, &c.—That the general assembly of the State of Louisiana feel it due to themselves and to those who have confided in the State, to declare that they hold her pledged faith as sacred and inviolable; and that they regard a repudiation of State obligations as unconstitutional and unjust, as repugnant to every principle of honor and common honesty, and as having a direct tendency to deprave private integrity and to corrupt the morals of the people.

DISHONOR TO LOUISIANA.—There is a bill before the legislature of Louisiana providing for the permission of public gambling on race-courses, on the payment of a tax to the State, by the proprietors, of $500 annually.

The New-York Tribune says, "we shall expect to hear, ere long, of a bill to make theft lawful, on a fair division of the spoils with the law-making power."

The Tribune seems to have forgotten that theft has *always* been legalized in Louisiana.

A CANNIBAL.—At the last dates, there was on board the United States ship Vincennes, as a prisoner, one of the principal Chiefs of the Fejee Islands, who was captured for having directed the murder of eleven of the crew of the brig Charles Daggett, of Salem, and *eating* the bodies; all of which he has confessed.

REMARKABLE RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT.—We learn that the Archbishop of the province of Bahia, Brazil, has presented a project to the Senate of Rio Janeiro, which will render the Brazilian church independent of the Roman See. The Ex-Regent Feijo, presented another project to have the mass and all the prayers of the church said in Portuguese, instead of Latin.

A SINGULAR FACT.—There is, says the Hartford Eagle, a fact of great interest to the people of Connecticut in connection with the Amistad negroes.—The total population of the State, by the late census, is 310,015, of which 54 are represented as slaves. These 54 include 37 Amistad negroes, who have been declared by the U. S. Courts to be freemen. If the apportionment bill, allowing one representative to every 62,000, passes, the correction, which ought to be made counting the 37 not as slaves, but as freemen *will entitle the State to an additional representative.*

Free-Labor Store.

EVERYTHING FOR SALE EXCEPT PRINCIPLES!!

THE subscriber informs the public that she will remove her store from Andrew's Bridge, to her store, house, near Penn's Grove meeting-house, in Upper Oxford township, Chester county; five miles from the former place. She intends keeping a general assortment of goods, exclusively free labor; manufactured by Charles Wise, Charles Collins, and the committee of the Free Produce Society, much cheaper than heretofore.

Unbleached and bleached shirting muslins, of good quality. Manchester ginghams, of twelve different patterns, from 25 to 37 1-2 cents per yard. Canton flannel, white and colored; wadding, white and colored; table diaper; checks; bed ticking; knitting cotton; wick-yarn. Calicoes, of large and small figures. Hose, white and mixed. Manchester stripes, for men's wear. Blue and white drilling. Cotton umbrellas. Cassimeres, sattinets; flannels, white and colored; green baize. Good assortment of merinos, and rattanets. Irish linen, grass cloth, linen handkerchiefs, (white and figured,) long lawn, linen sheeting, and diaper. Home-made striped linen for pantaloons. Tow cloth for bags. Black and white crape; gauze, and blonde. Silk shawls, dress'kerchiefs, colored and white cashmere, figured black silk, valentia vest patterns, silk bombazine. Ribbons, sewing silk, and silk braid of all colors; saddler's silk; hair nets; silk mohair. Linen tapes and braids. Thread of all qualities and colors. Needles, pins, and buttons.

Groceries, chocolate, tea, spices, raisins; Laguira, Java, and St. Domingo coffee. Free sugar, molasses, and candy. Liquorice. Candles and oil; painter's oil; segars of best dry tobacco, made from Pennsylvania leaf. Thomsonian, and other medicines. Brushes, for sweeping, dusting, whitewashing, painting, and clothes. Bed-cord, twine, and shoe thread. Shoes, for men, women, and children. Glass, china, queensware, earthenware, and tin. Tools. Shovels, scythes, nails, screws, knives and forks, curry-combs &c &c. Boilers, furnaces, pots, pans, kettles, smoothing-irons, &c. &c. Ready-made clothing, for men, women, and children, constantly on hand, and made to order.

N. B. The store will be closed at this place, about the middle of 3d month, next; and opened at Penn's Grove, the 1st of 4th month.

ELIZABETH KENT.

Andrew's Bridge, 2d month 10th, 1842.

Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw.

One hundred copies of Mrs. Trollope's "Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw," have been imported from Europe, and are for sale at the *Anti-Slavery Office*, No. 31, North Fifth street, Philadelphia.

This book has a very high reputation, where no pro-slavery prejudices come in to obscure the judgment. It is a work of remarkable truth and power. The following, from the Leeds Mercury, is one of the many commendatory notices, which hailed its first appearance.

"This book is exceedingly clever, and surpasses anything the author has hitherto published. Her dialogues are full of spirit, and bear the genuine impress of the peculiarities of vulgar American dialect. In fact, in many parts of J. J. Whitlaw, she fairly emulates the masculine power of the best novel-writers in our language."

Philadelphia, March 3d, 1842.

REPUBLICATION O